

**THE STRANGE APOTHEOSIS
OF SUN YAT-SEN**

The Strange Apotheosis of Sun Yat-sen

BY

"SAGGITARIUS"

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE - - - - -	7
CHAPTER	
One INTRODUCTORY - - - - -	9
Two PRE-REVOLUTION DAYS - - - - -	12
Three THE FIRST REVOLUTION - - - - -	23
Four DR. SUN BECOMES PRESIDENT - - - - -	30
Five SUN'S PART IN THE REVOLUTION - - - - -	38
Six THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC - - - - -	44
Seven THE SECOND REVOLUTION - - - - -	50
Eight CHINA FOR SALE—TO JAPAN - - - - -	56
Nine A THREE-YEAR ECLIPSE - - - - -	63
Ten A GENERALISSIMO WITHOUT AUTHOR- ITY - - - - -	70
Eleven PRESIDENT AND REFUGEE ON A BRITISH GUNBOAT - - - - -	75
Twelve INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUES - - - - -	83
Thirteen BACK TO CANTON—VIA HONGKONG - - - - -	89
Fourteen BORODIN TAKES CHARGE - - - - -	99
Fifteen CANTON IN 1924 - - - - -	105
Sixteen NORTHWARD BOUND - - - - -	115
Seventeen THE MAKING OF A CHINESE 'LENIN' - - - - -	122
Eighteen THE FORMIDABLE LEADER - - - - -	127
Nineteen CHINA GOES RED - - - - -	133
Twenty CHINA UNDER THE KUOMINTANG - - - - -	137
Twenty-one ORIGIN OF THE 'SAN MIN CHU I' - - - - -	144
Twenty-two THE SAN MIN CHU I - - - - -	149
Twenty-three THE SAN MIN CHU I—A CRITICAL SUMMARY - - - - -	156
Twenty-four THE SAN MIN CHU I AND EDU- CATION - - - - -	176
Twenty-five CONCLUSION - - - - -	184
BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	191

PREFACE

THE writing of this book was begun some five years ago, but was interrupted by other calls upon the writer's time. Recent events, particularly the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities, have convinced the writer of the desirability that the Sun Yat-sen "myth" should be exposed. It has, by its inculcation of xenophobia, been a contributory cause to those hostilities. And if the Kuomintang survives in anything like its present form, it will continue to be a menace to foreign interests in China. A whole generation of a nation's youth cannot be brought up upon a mental diet of calculated anti-foreignism without dangerous consequences. The extent to which this attitude has been cultivated may be gathered from the fact that even while professing friendship and goodwill towards Great Britain, and the British people, in the hope of securing their moral or material support, the Chinese Government continues to encourage the observance of a National Humiliation Day—May 30th—in which the British are held up to opprobrium in connection with the Nanking Road incident of 1925. Although there were differences of opinion as to the precautions that should have been taken to cope with this riot, three Foreign Jurists, American, British and Japanese, concurred in the view that in the actual circumstances firing upon the mob was unavoidable. Mobs have been fired upon before and since, with far more numerous casualties, by Chinese troops and police. But the May 30th Incident remains a cardinal feature in the Kuomintang's anti-foreign teachings, probably because it was followed by the first serious manifestations of xenophobia that followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

SUN YAT-SEN, ten years after his death, enjoys a far greater prestige among his fellow countrymen than he ever did when alive. The cult of Sun-Yat-senism has, superficially at any rate, gained a tremendous hold upon the people of China, of all classes. His portrait figures in every official function. Weekly Memorial services form part of the routine in Government offices, schools, etc. His *San Min Chu I* ("Three Principles," or as a learned Jesuit Scholar prefers to call them "Triple Demism") constitute the official gospel of the Kuomintang, the Party which still claims a monopoly of political power, and their study is made a compulsory subject in the curricula of schools and colleges, including Mission institutions of every grade. For good or for ill the rising generation is being inoculated with Sun Yat-sen's political philosophy and theories of Government.

Mark Antony, declaiming over the body of a murdered Cæsar, said (according to Shakespeare)

"The evil that men do lives after them

The good is oft interred with their bones."

The posthumous status of Sun Yat-sen confronts us with a paradox. Much evil has ensued from his pernicious activities during the last few years of his life. But there appears to have been an opportunist conspiracy to forget those activities.

and their consequences, and by the apotheosis of one who in his latter years was an irresponsible megalomaniac, artificially to create the impression not only in China, but throughout the civilized world, that Dr. Sun deserves to rank among the world's greatest men, and, also its greatest benefactors. This status will be impugned in the following pages. It will be demonstrated that during his lifetime his chief claim to fame, or infamy, was his destructiveness; that on no single occasion did he display any real constructive ability; and that the political philosophy with which he appears to have infected the China of to-day is a sham, and is based upon theories and arguments unworthy of a kindergarten pupil. For any Chinese, to-day, to endorse the above views would be arrant blasphemy; the "Three Principles" are sacrosanct, and woe betide any son of Han who ventures to question their infallibility. It must, however, be supposed that at least a very considerable proportion of educated Chinese, who have to participate in the weekly memorial services, and to render lip-service to the *San Min Chu I*, do so tongue in cheek. Acute conflicts of opinion as to the real meaning of the obscure phraseology of some of Dr. Sun's pronouncements arose soon after his death. And to-day commonsense, and practical considerations, preclude serious attempts on the part of the more responsible political leaders to apply to everyday administrative problems theories which will not fit, or solve, them. The pretence, however, is still maintained that the dominant Party is striving to evolve a system of

Government that will conform to the sacred "Three Principles" and embody Dr. Sun's "five-power" system. A series of draft Constitutions has been published each of which is supposed to comply with Dr. Sun's theories. The cynical smile. There is not the remotest prospect of these or any future drafts based on the Three Principles and the Five Powers, ever coming into force. The year that was to witness the end of the so-called Period of Tutelage found China heading, not for the ultra-democratic form of Government envisioned by Dr. Sun, but for a military dictatorship. Throughout the past five years the more important administrative orders have issued not from the National Government at Nanking, but from the Headquarters of General Chiang Kai-shek. Yet associated with, and apparently concurring in, this increasing assumption of power by the Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission was Wang Ching-wei, on whom, if anyone, the mantle of "the Father of the Republic" is supposed to have descended. Voices are, it is true, raised here and there against the "Military Dictatorship." But they are ineffective, and oft-times not improbably, insincere. For from the time of the Kuomintang's access to power it has been the militarists who have acted, while the politicians have been left to do the talking. The most formidable opponents of a "Military Dictatorship" in China in recent years have been those militarists who feared that it would encroach upon their own autocratic powers.

CHAPTER II

PRE-REVOLUTION DAYS

SUN Wen, better known to the world as Sun Yat-sen, was born in the Hsiang Shan District of Kwangtung, near Macao, in November 1866. There are numerous discrepancies in the biographical studies that have been published in the past. The fantastic and laudatory works of the late Sir James Cantlie and of Judge Linebarger had best be ignored by readers in search of the truth. The former intersperses scrappy information regarding the career of Sir James' hero, with out-of-date and inaccurate statements regarding conditions in China under the Manchus. Sir James Cantlie regarded Dr. Sun as "the most perfect character I ever knew"—and expected that "the immediate work of Lu Chun Pu, Minister of War, (*sic*) will be the completion of an army of 24 Divisions." (He unfortunately omitted to state what would be the functions of Mr. Hai Chun Pu (i.e., the Admiralty, in connection with the fleet). Judge Linebarger draws on his imagination to the extent of describing "an incident at the abdication ceremonies of the Manchu Imperial Throne at Peking in 1911. Sun, as the representative of the people, purposely had the ceremony set in the upper storey of the palace. Establishing himself there first, he literally made the Imperial Throne climb up to the people as represented by him." It will suffice to say that

the Manchus did not abdicate in 1911, but in 1912 ; that there was no ceremony connected with their abdication ; and that Dr. Sun was some 700 miles distant at Nanking when it was announced. Thus is history made !

Father D'Elia, scholarly Jesuit, states in his comments on "Triple Demism" that Dr. Sun was born a pagan, brought up as one, and only entered the Christian Church, and received baptism, in Hongkong, when eighteen years of age. Mr. Tang Leang-li* asserts that he was born of Christian parents, who, however, did not consider that their faith precluded paying reverence to the village gods.

The youth's early education was along traditional lines in the village temple school.

An elder brother had established himself in business at Honolulu, and Sun Wen joined him there, as a partner-assistant, when he was thirteen years old. There he had an opportunity of attending a foreign school, where he learnt English. After he had resided for four or five years in Honolulu, however, his elder brother became apprehensive lest he should become denationalized, and sent him back to his home. He soon became restless—and according to some reports, troublesome—in this narrow environment, and the parents allowed him to attend Queen's College, at Hongkong. Already he appears to have imbibed revolutionary ideas, and to have regarded his education primarily as a training for putting them into practice. It was while at Hongkong on this occasion that he was baptized by the Rev. C. R. Hager, of the London

*In his *Inner History of the Chinese Revolution*

Mission. Moreover, just before entering Queen's College he was, in accordance with Chinese custom, married to a girl from a neighbouring village who had been selected by his parents.

Sun Wen's revolutionary tendencies were further stimulated by the humiliating defeat of China in the war with France (1884—5). His inclination towards a military or naval career could not be gratified owing to his lack of political influence, and when he had finished his course at the Hongkong institution he decided to study foreign medicine. A year was spent at the Po Tsi Medical School at Canton. In 1887 hearing of a new and more up-to-date medical college at Hongkong, where he could enjoy greater freedom for his revolutionary activities, Sun entered the Medical School attached to the Alice Memorial Hospital in the British Colony. Among his teachers there were Dr. (later Sir Patrick) Manson, and Dr. (later Sir James) Cantlie. Graduating in 1892, he first started to practise at Macao, where he joined the "Young China Party," an organization aiming at the modernization of China, which had been founded in 1885. He had become acquainted with several kindred spirits while studying medicine, and it was in association with one of them, Cheng Hsi-liang, that he founded the more militant *Hsin Chung Hui*. Relations were established with local secret societies, and attempts were made to get into touch with the Canton garrison. The avowed object of the revolutionaries at that time was the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy. In company with another conspirator Dr. Sun went

North and sought to interest Viceroy Li Hung-chang in his reform plans, as outlined in his *Tract of Ten Thousand Characters*. Six months he waited in vain at Tientsin. During his absence from the South he also visited the Wu-Han cities in the middle Yangtze.

The Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1893, and gave Dr. Sun an opportunity to intensify his revolutionary activities. He visited Honolulu in an attempt to enlist the financial and moral support of overseas Chinese, but with scant success. Recalled by a cable from one of his colleagues, he engaged in a conspiracy for the capture of Canton. Headquarters, camouflaged as a trading concern, were established at Hongkong. The agency at Canton was disguised as an agricultural society. Plans for the attack on the Viceroy's Yamen went forward, but the plot miscarried owing to the seizure by the Customs of 600 revolvers which the conspirators were attempting to smuggle in. Lu Hao-tung, who had organised the projected *coup*, and two others were summarily executed. Upwards of seventy other arrests were made; and Dr. Sun, who was himself in Canton at the time, only effected his escape by a circuitous route to Hongkong, about a fortnight later. His first reverse was experienced on September 9, 1895. From Hongkong he sailed for Japan, and it was on this visit to Yokohama that he discarded his queue. His connection with the Canton plot was known and he did not expect to be able to return to China.

From Japan Dr. Sun proceeded to Honolulu, where he was disappointed to find that not only

had his party failed to obtain additional recruits but that his original supporters had become demoralized by the Canton fiasco. Luckily for him, a few days before he left Hawaii, en route to America and Europe, he met Dr. and Mrs. Cantlie in the street. They were spending a day there on their way to London, and invited him to call on them when he arrived. His first tour of America produced disappointing results. The Chinese to whom he preached his revolutionary doctrines showed little or no enthusiasm. The revolutionary spirit was lacking among the so-called *Hung Men Hui*, which had largely lost their political character, and developed into mutual aid societies. One of the fruits of the American visit, however, was Dr. Sun's partial conversion to Henry George's ideas of land taxation.

From America he went to England. There, while passing the Chinese Legation on his way to call on Dr. Cantlie, on October 11, 1896, he was kidnapped. A large reward had been offered by the Chinese Government for his capture dead or alive; and it was the intention, once he had been incarcerated on the Legation premises, to ship him back to China as a lunatic. It was not until October 17 that his plight became known to Dr. Cantlie, through a note delivered by the wife of one of the Legation servants. Scotland Yard and the Foreign Office, at first, were incredulous. But when his detention was confirmed, Lord Salisbury insisted upon his release. Dr. Sun would not have known of his former teacher's presence in London, had it not been for their chance meeting in Honolulu!

The kidnapping naturally caused a great sensation. It brought both Dr. Sun and Dr. Cantlie into the limelight. But for it, it is improbable that the name of Dr. Sun would ever have been known in Europe or America. And as a consequence of it, Dr. Cantlie came to be regarded as an authority on things Chinese, and was frequently interviewed, and asked for his opinions on Chinese problems, by representatives of the London newspapers, twenty years and more afterwards, though he had never been in Hongkong since 1896, and had never at any time lived in China.

Dr. Sun remained in Europe for two years after his release from the Legation, "to study the political and social conditions of the various countries." And it was during this period that he outlined his "Three Principles." There were few if any Chinese students in Europe at that time, so that his revolutionary activities were suspended.

The year 1898 found him back in Japan. On this visit he appears to have enlisted the sympathy of certain Japanese politicians. He met Count Okuma, Minister for Foreign Affairs, as well as several Opposition leaders, and claims to have received from them promises of moral support. The number of Chinese students in Japan had by this time risen to over 10,000, and it was among them, now, that Dr. Sun endeavoured to enlist supporters. Emissaries were sent to China to get into liaison with the anti-dynastic secret societies. During the Boxer upheaval in 1900 the time seemed opportune for another attempt to seize Canton. Dr. Sun himself proceeded to Hongkong to organize

the projected *coup*, but he was recognised and refused admission by the authorities. He therefore entrusted the actual direction of the conspiracy to Cheng Hsi-liang and proceeded to Formosa, via Japan. Cheng Hsi-liang's orders were to start the revolt at Waichow. Dr. Sun claims that the then Governor of Formosa, Kodama was sympathetically disposed towards his plans, sent the Commissioner of Civil Affairs to see him, and promised him assistance when the revolt was started. He engaged Japanese officers and negotiated for supplies of arms and munitions. Cheng Hsi-liang thereupon revolted, and met with several initial successes. But when the moment arrived for Dr. Sun to proceed to China with his Japanese advisers and military supplies Marquis Yamagata had been succeeded as Premier by Prince Ito, who interdicted all assistance to the Chinese revolutionaries. Dr. Sun hurriedly despatched one of his Japanese advisers, Yamada, to inform Cheng of this unexpected development, and the latter, deprived of any hope of securing arms and munitions dissolved his forces, which by this time numbered 10,000. Yamada lost his way on the return journey, and was captured and executed by the Imperialist troops. A simultaneous attempt at a *coup* in Canton also failed, the ringleader, Shi Chien-yu being arrested and executed, following an attempt to bomb the Viceroy's Yamen. Thus Dr. Sun's second venture ended in failure.

The indirect consequences of this catastrophe, however, were not altogether unfavourable. More active sympathy with the revolutionary cause was

displayed by the Chinese students in Japan, and many recruits were enlisted. Propaganda was intensified. A revolutionary journal, the *Kuo Min Pao* started publication in Japan. Another revolutionary organ, the *Su Pao*, was established in Shanghai. Dr. Sun remained in Japan disseminating revolutionary propaganda until 1904, when, so he states, responding to the invitation of the Governor of French Indo-China, he left for Hanoi to attend the Exposition there. The Governor was absent in France but he was cordially received by the latter's Secretary. From Hanoi, Dr. Sun started on his second world-tour, proceeding via Japan, to Europe and America. He claims that at this period he received encouragement, and the loan of seven officers, from the French Minister to China. The indiscretions of one of the French Officers, however, resulted in the discovery of the revolutionary organization at Wu-Han by Viceroy Chang Chi-tung. This resulted, after a change of Government in France, in the withdrawal of French assistance. Dr. Sun addressed meetings of Chinese students in Brussels, Berlin and Paris, securing about 70 new recruits, and on his return to Japan formally inaugurated the *Tung Meng Hui* (United League). From now onward he definitely advocated the supplanting of the Manchu Monarchy by a Republic.

Spasmodic and unsuccessful revolts were fomented in various parts of China, in only one of which, however, having established his headquarters at Hanoi, did Dr. Sun personally participate. With several French officers and "over a hundred

Annamese sympathisers'' he attacked the Chenan Pass, in Kwangsi, near the Tongking border. The venture was a failure, and resulted in Dr. Sun's deportation from French territory. Two subsequent revolts in Kwangtung and Yunnan also failed. In all there were six unsuccessful insurrections in South China in the period 1907—9. There were also serious dissensions within the *Tung Meng Hui* at this time, coupled with attempts to oust Dr. Sun from the leadership.

Wang Ching-wei, one of Dr. Sun's most loyal supporters, attempted to assassinate the Prince Regent by a bomb, in March, 1910, and was arrested and imprisoned. By this time Dr. Sun was excluded from Japan, Indo-China, and the British and the Netherlands Far Eastern possessions. He therefore devoted his energies to canvassing for funds and recruits among the Chinese communities in other parts of the world. Repeated failures do not appear to have interfered with these efforts. Large sums of money flowed into the revolutionary chest, most of them secured by Dr. Sun's personal efforts. He records that he financed the abortive attack led by Huang Hsing on the Viceroy's Yamen in Canton, on March 29, 1911, which he describes as his tenth failure. Seventy-two revolutionaries (since known as the Seventy-Two Martyrs) were killed or executed in this revolt.

The activities of the *Tung Meng Hui*, however, had not been confined to South China. A revolutionary Committee had been formed at Wu-Han, and had already succeeded in making some headway in creating disaffection among the local garrison.

The Hu-Kwang Viceroy suspected certain units, and detached them for service up river when Tuan Fang was appointed Director-General of the Hukuang Railways, and ordered to pacify Szechwan. As the situation in that province had an important bearing on what followed it had better be described here.

In May, 1911, the Chinese Government entered into a contract with an American, British, German, and French Banking Group for a loan of £6,000,000 for the construction of the so-called Hukuang Railway system. The projected lines included one from Kwangshui, on the Peking-Hankow railway to Ichang (in Hupeh) and thence to Kweichoufu in Szechwan. Past experience (notably with the Canton-Hankow, and Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railways) had convinced the Government of the unwisdom of allowing railway construction to proceed haphazard in the various provinces. It was therefore decided to nationalize the trunk lines. This involved taking over the interests of a provincial railway company that had already started the construction of a railway from Ichang into Szechwan, and wasted millions of dollars, with but little to show for them. The Government proposed to compensate the Szechwan shareholders, partly in cash, partly in bonds. But the nationalization project, involving as it did centralization of railway control, struck at what the provinces regarded as their rights. Vigorous protests came from Szechwan, followed by a general strike, and on September 7, 1911, an open revolt. The Szechwan Viceroy was murdered at Chengtu, and Tuan

Fang was killed by his own troops, a little later. Western China was therefore in a state of ferment when an accident, at Hankow, precipitated the anti-Dynastic revolution. This will be described in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST REVOLUTION

A DETAILED history of the First Revolution is outside the scope of this narrative. But a brief account is necessary for a correct appreciation of the subsequent activities of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. As has been made plain in the last Chapter, branches of the *Tung Meng Hui*, and anti-dynastic secret societies were at work in many parts of China in 1911. The Wu-Han cities (Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang), on the middle Yangtze had been selected as one of the centres of the conspiracy for a general rising. But although some progress had been made in promoting disaffection among the Hupeh troops, plans for an actual revolt had not matured. There is reason to believe that it was not until the end of the year, at the earliest, that the revolutionaries intended to come out into the open at Wu-Han.

Their plans were—as had so often happened previously—upset by an accident. Sun Wu, Liu Kung, and other conspirators were engaged in manufacturing bombs in a house in the Russian Concession at Hankow. What happened on October 9, 1911, was described in a Hankow paper the following morning :—

“The detonation of a bomb in the Russian Concession yesterday afternoon was responsible for the discovery of a revolutionary element, the existence of which had hitherto not been suspected. At 4 p.m. the police in the neighbour-

hood of the Russian Municipal Building were startled by a loud report which, it was apparent, emanated from the native houses at the back of the German butchery. A rush was made to the neighbourhood and in the compound of No. 14 two Chinese were discovered throwing kerosene around, apparently just preparing to set fire to the establishment. These were put quickly under restraint, and a survey of the premises revealed the fact that all the elements of a nice little revolutionary Club were present. Bombs already made, acids for their making, revolutionary pamphlets, and a list of names which bore a strong resemblance to the members' roll, gave testimony to the use to which the houses and compound had been put. It is surmised that the bomb went off accidentally and the inmates fearing a visit from the police attempted to set the place on fire. That their attempts were frustrated is due to the promptitude of the police, who, in addition to the two arrests already mentioned, tried to arrest four men who approached the place in a suspicious manner soon after the explosion; these, however, made their escape. At the Russian Police Station, where, at a late hour last evening a representative of the *Hankow Daily News* was making inquiries, two Chinese, a man and a woman, were being examined, they having attempted to gain ingress to a suspected house. Like the two men arrested they were turned over to the Hsia Kao Ting (Chinese Magistrate), whose representative had been quickly called to the spot. The Viceroy had already sent a Deputy, a Naval Officer, from Wuchang, and together with the local officials he was busy attempting to unravel the mysteries connected with the revolutionary quarters. Among the articles seized by the police were revolutionary flags as well as maps of Wuchang, and plans apportioning various bodies of revolutionists to their positions for attack on the Wuchang gates. At a late hour last night everything in the neighbourhood of the scene was quiet and not a soul was in sight except the Russian Police, who are to be heartily congratulated on their discovery and the efficient manner in which they handled the situation."

Sun Wu, who had been somewhat seriously wounded by the bomb explosion, and Liu Kung, escaped arrest. Thirty arrests were made, however, and three conspirators were executed outside the Viceroy's Yamen at dawn next day. The entire organization of the local revolutionary committee had been revealed to the local authorities by the

documents seized in the Russian Concession. Driven to desperation by the knowledge that their arrest and execution would follow as a matter of course the conspirators decided that their only hope lay in immediate action. Liu Kung appears to have taken the lead at this crisis, and to have got into immediate touch with two disaffected military units, and induced them to revolt on the evening of the 10th, to escape the fate that would await them when their connection with the revolutionaries became known. Wuchang was attacked about 8 p.m., and the mutineers encountered but little resistance. When they entered the Viceroy's Yamen they discovered that both he, Jui Cheng, and the Imperial Commander, General Chang Piao, had fled to vessels on the river. On the following day the entire city, including the Government Mint was in the hands of the rebels. But although their success had been as dramatic as it was unexpected, they remained without military leadership. Huang Hsing was absent in Japan. Chen Chi-mei, leader of the Wu-Han Committee was on a visit to Shanghai. The local conspirators, therefore decided to make Colonel Li Yuan-hung, a cavalry officer who was believed to be in sympathy with their cause, Generalissimo. He was unwilling to accept the responsibility, and only yielded when threatened with death. On October 13, then, a Reformed Government was proclaimed, with (General) Li Yuan-hung as President. Hanyang, with its Arsenal and Hankow, had been occupied without serious trouble the previous day.

The Peking Government was seriously alarmed when the news of the Wu-Han rising was received. The projected manoeuvres of several Divisions of the Modern Army in the vicinity of Yungpingfu were cancelled, and two Divisions were ordered to proceed South immediately, under the personal command of the Minister of War, General Yin Chang. Admiral Sah Chen-ping was at the same time ordered to assist in the suppression of the revolt with the Fleet. On October 14 the Prince Regent issued a curt Edict appointing Yuan Shih-kai Viceroy of the Hu-Kwang provinces, and Generalissimo of the Imperial Forces, with full authority to grant pardons. (Yuan Shih-kai had been summarily dismissed by the Regent early in 1909, in accordance, so it is said, with the dying wishes of the Emperor Kwang Hsu, who held him responsible for the betrayal of his Reform Movement in 1898). Yuan showed no hurry to accept reinstatement. In sheer desperation the Regent then accepted the resignation of Prince Ching (the Premier) and all other Manchu Ministers, and entrusted Yuan with the formation of a Cabinet. When, therefore, he came up to Peking it was virtually as a Dictator to—not as a servant of—the Throne. He was not installed as Premier until November 15.

In the meantime, on October 30, the Imperial forces under his direction had recaptured Hankow; Shanghai had fallen to the revolutionaries led by Chen Chi-mei; and the provinces of Yunnan, Kiangsi and Chekiang had revolted.

After a lull of several weeks the Imperialists retook Hanyang, and there is little doubt that with

the forces at his disposal Yuan Shih-kai could have reoccupied Wuchang had he desired to do so. Instead, he temporized and entered into negotiations with the insurgents. Dissensions had already broken out among the latter. General Li Yuan-hung and Huang Hsing, who had arrived on October 20, could not get on together. Yuan strove at first to effect a settlement on the basis of a constitutional monarchy, but to this the revolutionaries would not agree. When Hanyang, which had been defended by Huang Hsing, fell, General Li Yuan-hung was disposed to accept Yuan's terms. The fall of Nanking to the rebels a few days later, however, revived their morale; Yuan Shih-Kai proposed an Armistice on December 11, and appointed Tang Shao-yi, his Foreign Minister, as chief of the Northern Peace Delegation. Shanghai was selected as the venue of the negotiations, and a more unsuitable place could hardly have been chosen. It was in a ferment of enthusiasm for the Republic, and at the first session, on December 20, Tang Shao-yi agreed that the establishment of a Republic was unavoidable, and so reported to Yuan. He was disavowed, and dismissed from his post as Chief Imperial Delegate, but remained in Shanghai as the personal representative of the Premier.

In a statement which appeared in the *Times* Yuan Shih-kai related his own version of what had occurred from the time he became Premier. Within a month of the Wu-Han revolt thirteen provinces had been lost and Chihli and Shantung were showing signs of disaffection. The Throne agreed to

the immediate promulgation of the fundamental principles of a Constitution, which would have shorn it of practically every vestige of power, and it was on this basis that he had hoped to effect a settlement. But after the recapture of Hankow the Navy mutinied; no sooner was Hanyang retaken than Nanking fell. Through foreign mediation an Armistice and a Peace Conference were arranged. But the Republicans refused to modify their demand for abdication. They were supported by the Provincial Assemblies of Chihli and Honan. When the gravity of the situation was reported to the Empress Dowager (the Prince Regent having resigned) she issued a Decree summoning a National Convention to determine the future form of Government. But it was impossible to reach an agreement as to where this Convention should meet, and how it should be elected. As regards the military situation, Wuchang might have been recaptured had it not been for the unanimous demand of all classes for a policy of pacification. The Treasury was well-nigh exhausted, and there was a shortage of munitions. It was impossible to raise a foreign loan.

Dr. Wu Ting-fang, an elderly diplomat, was the Chief Republican Delegate at Shanghai. Other members of the Delegation included C. T. Wang, who had been General Li's Chief Diplomatic Representative at Wuchang, Wang Chung-hui, Wen Tsung-yao (who had been mainly responsible for the foreign propaganda of the Republicans), and Wang Ching-wei, who had been released from his sentence of life-imprisonment on November 6.

Sheng Hsuan-huai (better known as Sheng Kung-pao), Minister of Posts and Communications, who had been responsible for the Hukuang Loan, was sacrificed to popular clamour on October 27. The Prince Regent resigned on December 6. On December 25 Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived in Shanghai, from Europe. Three days later he was elected Provisional President of the Republic, at Nanking. He was formally installed in office on New Year's Day, 1912. The part he played in the First Revolution has been the subject of considerable controversy. It may conveniently be treated in a later Chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DR. SUN BECOMES PRESIDENT

WHEN the Wuchang outbreak occurred Dr. Sun Yat-sen was on his way across the United States. He asserts that the Viceroy appealed to the Consul of a certain Power "to bombard the revolutionists in accordance with the previous arrangement," but that this action was successfully opposed by the French Consul, who was a personal friend of his. And he expresses the opinion that had the Viceroy held his ground instead of fleeing down river the rising would easily have been suppressed. He first heard of the outbreak at Denver. He could easily have returned to China across the Pacific, and within three weeks, have participated in the revolutionary struggle. But he decided that he could render more valuable services to the cause in the realm of diplomacy than on the battlefield. He therefore proceeded to England, where, he says, he interviewed a representative of the Quadruple Group, and subsequently (through the introduction of the Chairman of Vickers) Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, and induced him to suspend all loan arrangements with the Manchu Government, to prevent Japan from supporting it, (*sic*) and to cancel the deportation orders against himself in the British Colonies. How far these statements are correct may be left to the judgment of the reader. Then he returned

to China after a brief visit to France, where he was sympathetically received by M. Clemenceau.

He reached Shanghai at an opportune moment. Serious friction had developed between General Li Yuan-hung and Huang Hsing, and the revolutionists could not reach a definite decision as to which should be Generalissimo. A self-constituted revolutionary caucus which called itself the National Council, had established itself at Nanking. But there was no leadership. Most of the political and diplomatic work was being done by former officials and diplomats like Wu Ting-fang, Wang Chung-hui, and Chang Chien, who were not members of the *Tung Meng Hui*. The actual revolution was to all intents and purposes, over, "bar the shouting," and the appointment of Yuan Shih-kai as President of the new Republic was regarded as inevitable, but none of the Republican leaders or spokesmen was willing to take the Provisional Presidency of the Provisional Government. The best solution, as Dr. Sun had gained considerable notoriety abroad, appeared to be to offer him the position. He was elected to the office by the National Council, on December 28, 1911, and reached Nanking, and assumed the Provisional Presidency on January 1, 1912. In his oath of office he swore to achieve the overthrow of the Manchu Government, and that when the Republic had been established and recognized, he would relinquish the office of Provisional President.

A Manifesto denouncing the alleged shortcomings of the Manchus, and promising reforms, was issued in his name the following day, followed, on January

5 by another addressed to the Powers, by Dr. Wu Ting-fang. About this time the composition of the Republican Cabinet was announced. Included among the Ministers were several men who were not members of the *Tung Meng Hui*. Huang Hsing, whose appointment as Generalissimo had been reversed in favour of General Li Yuan-hung, became Minister of War.

Dr. Sun, when informing Yuan Shih-kai of his assumption of office, expressed his readiness to resign in the latter's favour if Yuan would agree to a Republic. The Armistice was renewed from time to time, as negotiations proceeded. Partisans of Yuan and of Dr. Sun accused each other of bad faith. Several acts of terrorism took place in January. An attempt was made to assassinate Yuan Shih-kai in the streets of Peking on the 17th; on the 26th General Liang Pi (a member of the Imperial Clan) was murdered. The Imperial Family influenced now by reactionaries headed by some of the younger Princes and Tieh Liang, former Tartar General at Nanking; now by the older Princes—vacillated between resistance and abdication. Two statements defining Dr. Sun's attitude towards Yuan Shih-kai's succession to the Presidency were issued on January 22 and 24 respectively. He made it clear that he would only resign in Yuan's favour if he definitely declared for a Republic, and following election by the National Council, swore to observe the Provisional Constitution. He added that his offer of resignation was spontaneous, and not the result of any previous arrangement, and that in making it he had to overcome considerable opposition.

Yuan replied with a statement that he harboured no ambitions for the Presidency, and that his policy had been "to maintain the integrity of the whole Empire," and by peaceful means to bring about the establishment of a really stable Government.

The final decision in favour of abdication was probably taken as a result of a joint telegraphic memorial to the Throne from all the Imperialist Generals and Commanders outside Peking except General Chang Hua-chi. It is supposed to have been prompted by Yuan. Be that as it may, it urged the Throne to accept the Republicans' offer of favourable treatment, and to abdicate immediately, pointing out that the morale of the Imperial troops was being destroyed by failure to pay them, and that further reinforcement was impossible. The terms of favourable treatment had been communicated to the Throne a few days previously. A secret Edict of Abdication was signed on February 3, but not published until nine days later. In the meantime Yuan endeavoured to secure some modifications of the favourable treatment. The Republicans' final terms were communicated on February 7, and on the 12th the three Edicts of Abdication were promulgated. The first instructed Yuan to "organize with full powers a provisional Republican Government, and confer with the Republican Army as to the methods of union." The second emphasized that the Emperor "is understood to resign only his political power, while the Imperial Title is not abolished" and ratified the terms of favourable treatment. The third instructed officials of all grades to carry

on their duties, and "not cause the country and the people to suffer from the evil consequences of a stubborn pride and prejudiced opinions."

The secret Edict already referred to, which did not appear until February 13, authorized Yuan to make arrangements for Abdication with the People's Army.

Objection was immediately taken to the terms of Abdication by the Republicans, especially to the conferring upon Yuan Shih-kai of full power to organize a Provisional Republican Government. Dr. Sun telegraphed that "the Republican Government cannot be organized by any authority conferred by the Ching Emperor. The exercise of such pretentious power must surely lead to serious trouble." He invited Yuan to come to Nanking at once, or to send a fully accredited representative thither.

Yuan Shih-kai disclaimed any intention of taking advantage of the actual construction of the Edict referred to, and ordered Tang Shao-yi to proceed to Nanking as his representative. There, on February 13, in conference with Dr. Sun and the Republican Cabinet, it was arranged that he and his Ministers would tender their resignations to the National Council on the understanding that Yuan Shih-kai would be elected President, and that the Capital should be transferred to Nanking.

It is curious to note that before Dr. Sun had tendered his resignation (which was not accepted until February 15) Yuan Shih-kai (on the 13th) issued a Proclamation as "Plenipotentiary for the Organization of the Provisional Republican Government" enjoining all officials in the metropolis and

provinces to carry on with their respective functions as heretofore.

Dr. Sun's resignation message recommended the election of "Mr. Yuan," as "a man of political experience, upon whose constructive ability our united nation looks forward for the consolidation of its interests."

Receiving this message on February 14, the National Council decided to defer action until the following day. Then, to the general amazement, it voted by 20 to 5 to retain the Capital in Peking. Reminded that one of the conditions of Yuan's election was the transfer of the Capital, it reversed that decision. When nominations were called for, the name of General Li Yuan-hung was put forward by two members. Before the ballot was taken, however, it was withdrawn, and Yuan was unanimously elected. Five days later General Li Yuan-hung was formally, and unanimously, elected Vice-President.

Yuan Shih-kai was now urged to come to Nanking to take the oath of office. But it is doubtful whether he ever intended to place himself in the hands of the Southern Republicans. On one pretext or another, he dallied, and on February 20 a Republican Delegation accompanied by Tang Shao-yi left for Peking to press this point. He put them off by a promise to come South in a fortnight. A few nights later the Third Division mutinied, and proceeded to loot and burn property throughout the Capital. The Southern Delegates had to take refuge in the Legation Quarter. Mutinies followed in Tientsin, Paotingfu and other Northern cities,

and, though Yuan was strongly suspected of instigating these outbreaks, to emphasize the danger of his going South, the Republicans gave way on the point of the transfer of the Capital. Yuan was inaugurated as President in the presence of the Southern Delegates, and numerous provincial and official representatives, in the new Waiwupu Building at Peking, on the afternoon of March 10, and solemnly swore "to obey strictly the Constitution." On March 13 he named Tang Shao-yi as Premier. The latter then left for Nanking to confer with the National Council regarding the composition of the new Cabinet. The Republicans particularly desired to see their own nominees in the positions of Ministers of War and Finance. Negotiation and intrigue ensued, as a result of which only three out of the ten Portfolios went to *Tung Meng Hui* candidates. General Tuan Chi-jui, a staunch supporter of Yuan Shih-kai, became Minister of War. Another of his henchmen, Chao Ping-chun became Minister of Interior. The Ministries of Commerce, of Industry and of Education, only, went to old *Tung Meng Hui* members, and one of them, Chen Chi-mei, never assumed office. Various minor concessions were made to secure the Council's assent to the new Cabinet. Huang Hsing, for example, the Republican nominee as Minister of War, was fobbed off with the appointment of Resident-General at Nanking.

Dr. Sun handed over his Seals of Office to the Chairman of the National Council on April 1, and two days later, left Nanking for a trip to South China.

It should be mentioned that on the day he tendered his resignation he proceeded to the Ming Tombs at Nanking to offer sacrifices to the departed Emperors, and to inform their spirits that the usurping Manchu Dynasty had been overthrown "From henceforth" writes Father D'Elia, "he was regarded as the 'Father of the Chinese Republic.' "

CHAPTER V

SUN'S PART IN THE REVOLUTION

"We shall rise up when the day is done and chirrup
'Behold, it is day!'
We shall abide till the battle is won ere we amble into the
fray."

WE come now to the part played by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the First Revolution. To all intents and purposes it was over when he reached Shanghai. The Armistice had already been arranged, the Peace Conference at Shanghai was in session, Huang Hsing early in December had taken it upon himself to offer the Presidency to Yuan Shih-kai. Dr. Sun had, it is true, founded and was recognized as the leader of, the *Tung Meng Hui*, though that leadership had been challenged a short time previously. He was certainly looked upon as an asset to the party by reason of his ability to collect funds among the overseas Chinese. And when he did not return direct to China on the outbreak at Wuchang, it was generally assumed that he was engaged upon this task, and, as he himself admits, "My comrades also expected the alleged money on the very day of my arrival." *Tung Meng Hui* control of the actual Revolution was lost in the early phases. General Li Yuan-hung enjoyed greater support among the Republicans than Huang Hsing. The chief spokesmen of the Republican caucus were not members of the Party. And there is much evidence that many of those most active

in the revolutionary cause knew and cared nothing about Sun Yat-sen. Let us take first, the evidence of General Li, himself. The *China Press* of July 22, 1913, contained a seven column interview with him from the pen of Mr. Thomas Millard. And this is what he had to say:

"The world has a false idea about Sun Yat-sen. He had nothing to do with the actual work of overthrowing the Monarchy. The Revolution was finished when he reached China. I had hardly heard of him, except in a vague and general way, and did not know his political views, except that I had heard of his agitation. So far as I had thought of him at all I regarded him as a visionary. He arrived at Shanghai at a moment when the Southern, or Republican Party had decided that some kind of a Government should nominally be formed, with the Capital at Nanking. This was done for the moral effect in China and abroad. None of the real leaders of the Revolution, for various reasons, desired to take the position of Provisional President, which we felt, would be of short duration. Sun Yat-sen, from being out of China for so long, was not associated with any faction here, his name was known abroad, and he seemed to suit the occasion. If he ever provided any tangible aid to the real Revolution I do not know of it. His reputation is largely founded on fiction. Huang Hsing took a more tangible part in the actual Revolution, but the least said about his military services the better."

These were the considered views of the Revolutionary Generalissimo. When the Wuchang outbreak occurred Mr. Millard (who is now an Adviser to the Chinese Government) was Editor of the *China Press*, and in close touch with the Republican leaders in Shanghai. He asserts in his book, *Our Eastern Question*, that even when Dr. Sun reached Hongkong his plans and his movements were uncertain. He remained there for several days to communicate with the Shanghai revolutionists, before proceeding further. Asked his advice about Dr. Sun, Mr. Millard says that he

replied that he "thought his notoriety as a reformer might be used favourably in making a good impression in the United States and England, where people would have a sentimental idea about the Revolution and sympathy with its objects." A Republican Government had to be established, and the quarrel between Li Yuan-hung and Huang Hsing (whom the former accused of cowardice) made it essential to reach some compromise regarding the leadership. "The Presidency was to be tendered to him, with a proviso that, in case the negotiations brought about an understanding with Yuan Shih-ka, Sun would retire in Yuan's favour, when a permanent Government was organized. On this understanding the Presidency was given to Sun. There was a formality of an election by the National Council sitting at Nanking, but that proceeding merely registered the agreement made at Shanghai."

As soon after the establishment of the Republic as May, 1912, the *Sin Wan Pao*, the most influential Chinese paper in Shanghai, denounced the proposal of the Hongkong Chinese to give Dr. Sun a public welcome, and the proposal to erect a bronze statue of him in Peking as one of the founders of the Republic. The fact that he arrived in Shanghai surrounded by Japanese advisers, and accompanied by foreign adventurers created a considerable amount of suspicion.

Professor E. T. Williams in his *Short History of China*, remarks that "He (Sun) sowed the seeds of rebellion far and wide, but in all his attempts to create a rising from 1895 to 1911, he failed utterly ;

and when the Revolution came, it began in an unexpected quarter without his assistance or direction."

Evidence that Dr. Sun had lost the leadership of the Revolutionary movement may also be found in partisan accounts. "*The Inner History of the Revolution*" by Tang Leang-li, for example, states that with few exceptions the *Tung Meng Hui* members had little prestige among the masses, and that it was for this reason that it was necessary to invite well-known officials and diplomats who did not belong to the Party, to take charge of important affairs, and for this reason, also, that Yuan Shih-kai was proposed as first President. The National Council had decided to settle the deadlock between Li Yuan-hung and Huang Hsing by offering Sun Yat-sen the Provisional Presidency, a position in which he was never happy. For "he felt that the majority of the Party comrades, immediately victory was in sight, had forgotten the implications of their revolutionary oath, and were no longer willing to submit to his guidance unquestioningly." There was a serious dispute between him and the members of the Deputation that offered him the Presidency, as he favoured maintenance of the system of military government until China was pacified and the reactionary elements rooted out, and they insisted upon the immediate adoption of a constitutional regime. "Sun had to acknowledge defeat, but nevertheless he could not let the revolutionary leaders down by refusing the Presidency outright."

The Revolution had, in fact been started without his knowledge, directed without his presence or advice, and would have ended without his active participation, or any suggestion that he was the "Father" of the movement, had he not arrived at a moment when it suited the real leaders to have a figurehead, as a foil to Yuan Shih-kai.

There were various reasons why it was extremely unlikely that he could under any circumstances have secured the permanent Presidency. For one thing he was a professing Christian, though that did not prevent him from the theatrical sacrificial offerings at the Ming Tombs. For another, the Northern, and only well-disciplined Armies in China, were of Yuan Shih-kai's creation, and all of the senior posts were held by men who had been his subordinates when he was training the first units at Hsiakan. Finally, Sun has spent most of his adult life abroad. His name was only known in China to members of the *Tung Meng Hui*, or secret societies working in association with them. He was, in fact, more notorious abroad than within China. Few if any references to him will be found in the foreign or Chinese newspapers in China after the sensation created by the kidnapping incident in London, had died down. It was mainly to impress foreign opinion, when the details of that incident were recalled by the European and American Press, that he was pitchforked into the Provisional Presidency under conditions that made it quite plain that it was not leadership, but a figurehead, that was required for the moment.

When the new National Council met in Peking in April, 1912, only 36 out of a total of 97 members belonged to the Tung Meng Hui, and not one of these represented Hupeh, the Province in which the Revolution started.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC

AFTER the Presidency had been assumed by Yuan Shih-kai Dr. Sun visited Wuchang, where he conferred with General Li Yuan-hung, and other officials. He arrived there on April 9, 1912 ; on the 16th he sailed for the South from Shanghai, paying brief visits to several ports on his way to Canton. At Foochow he spoke in the Methodist Church on the Mission of the Church in rebuilding the nation. Arriving at Canton about April 25 he found conditions there far from satisfactory. The Southern Republicans were extremely suspicious of Yuan Shih-kai, and were very jealous of the Northern element in the new Cabinet. During his visit to the Southern city negotiations for a loan were opened with the Sextuple Banking Group. It soon became clear that in the then unstable condition of the new Government the securing of a substantial foreign loan was not going to prove an easy matter. Dr. Sun leapt into the fray with bitter denunciations of the attitude of the Foreign Powers, whom he accused of obstructing the financing of China. He declared that if they persisted in this policy it would be possible to secure all the financial assistance that China needed from the Chinese people themselves. It is scarcely necessary to add that this was sheer bluff. For the Reorganization Loan Agreement was not signed

until April 26, 1913, after futile attempts had been made to secure the requisite funds from independent foreign financiers, and there had been ample time, had it been possible, to raise the money from Chinese investors.

June found Dr. Sun back in Shanghai, attempting, so it was reported, to form a Sino-Foreign Bank. He received, and accepted, an invitation from President Yuan Shih-kai to visit Peking in August. A few days before his departure, however, news was received of the summary execution, by Yuan's orders, of two prominent revolutionary generals, Chang Chen-wu and Feng Wei. It was explained that these executions had been carried out at the urgent request of General Li Yuan-hung, the Vice-President, in consequence of the discovery of a serious plot, in which both men were implicated, in Wuchang. When the news of the executions was received efforts were made to dissuade Dr. Sun from going North. Huang Hsing, who was to have accompanied him, flatly refused to go, but Dr. Sun sailed for Tientsin on August 22, and reached the Capital on the 24th. Just prior to his arrival an amalgamation had been effected between his own Party, the *Tung Meng Hui*, and the *Tung Yi Kung Ho Tang* and three smaller political cliques, under the name of the *Kuomintang*.

President Yuan received Dr. Sun cordially when he reached Peking, and both of them said nice things to and about each other. While in Peking Dr. Sun put forward his project for railway construction in China. It was a grandiose and ill-considered scheme. It involved the construction

of 70,000 miles of railway within ten years, at an estimated cost of \$600,000,000, one fifth of which was to be borrowed in silver, and the balance in railway material. Dr. Sun drew lines across the map, regardless of mountains, rivers and deserts, and proposed the construction of three long trunk lines, one from Canton, through Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan and Szechwan, to Tibet; another from Kiangsu, through Anhwei, Honan, Shensi and Sinkiang to Ili, near the border of Russian Turkestan; and a third from Chinwangtao, through Manchuria, and Outer Mongolia to Kokonor. A great part of these routes would have been through sparsely populated, desert or mountain territory, which it would have taken many decades to develop—if it could ever have been developed—to the extent of making the railways a paying proposition. His arguments in support of the project were characteristic. Addressing the Peking Railway Union he asserted that if ten men could in one year build one *li* (one-third of a mile) of railway, 2,000,000 men could construct 200,000 *li* in the same period. Could they not in a country of over 400,000,000 people find 2,000,000 men able to build railways?

The project was greeted with derision in responsible quarters. It was, for example, pointed out that the cost of railway construction in China was nearer \$100,000 than \$10,000 per mile, and that the completion of Dr. Sun's programme, therefore, would require a sum nearer \$6,000,000,000 than \$600,000,000; that labour for railway construction in China had first to be trained; and that (as the Szechwan revolt had shown) there was

serious provincial opposition to the construction of railways by foreign capitalists. Nevertheless, President Yuan humoured his guest by appointing him head of a Central Railway Corporation, which was to consider and draft plans for a national system of railways, and granted him an allowance of Tls 30,000 (£4,000) per month. Incidentally, the *National Daily News* severely criticized him for accepting this appointment, and in political circles considerable resentment was displayed when it became known that he was to be empowered to conclude contracts in his own name. Actually, during the period he held the appointment he concluded only one contract, which was never fulfilled.

Dr. Sun while in Peking called on the Foreign Ministers and the former Regent, and before leaving the North, visited Kalgan, Taiyuan, Tsinan and Tsingtao.

During the latter part of the year relations between the Chinese and Russian Governments became seriously strained in connection with Outer Mongolia. The officials of this Dependency, exasperated by the progress of Chinese colonization, had sent a deputation to Russia in 1911, to ask for the protection of the Tsar. On the outbreak of the Revolution the Living Buddha at Urga proclaimed the independence of Outer Mongolia, and then the Russian Government took a hand in the game, and demanded a revision of the St. Petersburg Treaty of 1881. A special Russian Envoy was sent to Urga on October, who, on November 3 exchanged ratifications of a new Treaty between Russia and Mongolia. The Russian Government demanded

that China should recognize this instrument, to which tremendous opposition developed in Kuomintang circles. Dr. Sun came to the rescue with a solution of the dispute. It was a simple though ambitious one. China was to go to war with Russia, immediately raise an army of half a million men to be despatched to Outer Mongolia, and reinforce it year by year until at the end of four years she would have six million men in the field; As they were reinforced they were to advance westward, with Moscow as their goal, and conquer, and reduce Russia to submission!

In putting forward this proposal Dr. Sun did not overlook the financial problems of a military campaign of this magnitude. He had a simple solution—borrowed from Huang Hsing—for them, also. The use of gold or silver coins or sycee was to be forbidden; the Government was to enact that inconvertible notes issued by it were to be the sole currency of the nation (with the exception of subsidiary silver and copper coins); these notes were to be issued against payment to the Government of gold or silver, or in payment of Government purchases. As they returned to the Treasury they would be destroyed. In this manner, predicted Dr. Sun, the Government could raise unlimited funds, overcome the prevailing currency shortage, solve its financial difficulties, and give a tremendous impetus to foreign trade! He omitted to state how China's existing foreign obligations, or new obligations arising out of his railway project, could be met by this method.

It remains only to be said that China did not declare war on Russia, and that President Yuan was not attracted by the idea of an inconvertible note issue. (Rumour had it that he was more intrigued by the sleight of hand of the Italian conjuror, Malini, who apparently produced silver dollars out of the air!) So that none of Dr. Sun's great constructive proposals in the first year of the Republic—the railway scheme, the invasion of Russia, or the overworking of the printing press to provide China with a new currency—materialized.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND REVOLUTION

AFTER his tour in North China Dr. Sun returned to Shanghai, where we find him addressing a meeting of Kuomintang members on January 10th, 1913. Shortly afterwards he paid a visit to Japan, ostensibly in connection with the activities of the Central Railway Corporation. He was enthusiastically received, was furnished with special trains in which to travel, and met a number of Japanese politicians and financiers. Little was said about his railway programme during the visit. One explanation thereof was that he was acting as Yuan Shih-kai's personal representative, and seeking to secure the Japanese Government's recognition of the Chinese Republic. Another, which was not made at the time, was that he was already conspiring to secure Japanese aid for Yuan's overthrow. His own naive explanation was that he was merely seeking to improve Sino-Japanese relations.

The day set for the opening of the new Chinese Parliament was now approaching. The opening ceremony was fixed for April 8, 1913. No machinery existed for the elections of a bicameral Parliament throughout the vast territories of the Chinese Republic. But there was a pretence of an election, and the new Senators and Representatives began to muster at Peking. In both Chambers the Kuomintang, if it did not have an actual majority

constituted by far the largest individual Party. The leader of the Kuomintang Parliamentary groups was Sung Chiao-jen, whose name it was intended to put forward as Prime Minister, in order to undermine Yuan Shih-kai's authority. On March 21, just as he was about to board the train at Shanghai for the North, he was assassinated. His murderer was arrested, and from certain documents found in his possession, and that of Ying Kwei-shing, who was alleged to have instigated the crime, it was made to appear that Chao Ping-chun, then Premier and Minister of Interior, had commissioned Ying to remove Sung. The Premier strenuously denied this interpretation. The actual assassin died under mysterious circumstances, in his cell, while awaiting trial. Ying escaped during the fighting in Shanghai, later in the year.

Parliament assembled, on April 8, in a very hostile frame of mind. It would not even permit the reading of the President's inaugural message. It occupied the first three weeks of the session with quarrels over the election of the Speakers of the two Houses. The Kuomintang demanded a Party Cabinet, to which President Yuan would not agree.

On April 26 the Quintuple Loan Agreement, providing for a Reorganization Loan of £25,000,000 was signed by the Minister of Finance. This roused Parliament to fury. Dr. Sun wrote a lengthy letter to the British newspapers opposing the loan and predicting that it would lead to civil war. In the course of interpolations the Government spokesmen claimed that the essential principles of the Loan Agreement had received the approval

of the now defunct National Council at a secret session held on December 27, 1912, and did not therefore, require the sanction of Parliament.

Telegrams poured into Peking denouncing the loan as unconstitutional, but in the Shanghai Press there was considerable criticism of Dr. Sun for his lack of constructive ideas, and the Union of Chambers of Commerce at Shanghai and the Canton Chamber and 72 Guilds endorsed the conclusion of the loan. Now, and later, Parliament succeeded in thoroughly discrediting itself throughout the country. Its members fought for inordinate salaries. Free fights and deliberate abstention from attendance prevented essential legislation being put through. There were various indications that a rebellion was brewing. Li Lieh-chun (Tutuh of Kiangsi, in April, refused to accept the President's nominee for the Civil Governorship. In June Huang Hsing was charged with conspiring to murder the President, a summons was issued against him, and he was actually brought before the Shanghai Mixed Court. No witnesses for the prosecution appeared—perhaps because it would have been unsafe for them to do so in Shanghai—and the case was dismissed.

The attitude of certain of the Southern Tutuh became more and more defiant. On June 9 President Yuan formally dismissed Li Lieh-chun, following up this step by relieving Hu Han-min (Tutuh of Kwangtung) and Po Wen-wei (Tutuh of Anhwei) of their posts. About the same time Dr. Sun left Shanghai for the South, to visit

daughter, who was reported to be seriously ill, at Macao.

On July 2, when he was back in Shanghai, he wrote a letter to Yuan Shih-kai demanding his resignation, threatening, if he did not agree to "adopt the same measures against you as those used against the Absolute Monarchy. I have made up my mind now," he added, "This is my last advice, and I hope you will consider it well."

President Yuan, who had been quietly reinforcing strategic points with Northern troops, on whom he could rely, accepted the challenge. On July 24 a Mandate appeared dismissing Dr. Sun Yat-sen from the post of head of the Central Railway Corporation.

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Hsun to tender the apologies and other reparations demanded in the Japanese ultimatum.

Dr. Sun left Shanghai on a Hongkong-bound steamer, on August 2; disembarked at Foochow; and thence took ship to Formosa, en route to Japan. He was reported to have travelled under an assumed name (Wang Kuo-hsien—i.e., "the wise man of the country"), and on arrival at Kobe (where at first the Japanese Government hesitated to admit him), he became the guest of a Mr. Mikami. Other rebel leaders, including Hu Han-min and Huang Hsing also fled to Japan. Feeling in that country ran very high when news of the Nanking outrage was received. On September 5, Mr. Moritaro Abe, Director of one of the Bureaux of the Foreign Office was assassinated. It was not clear at first whether this was the act of a fanatic who sought to compel the Government to take action in China, or whether he had been mistaken for Dr. Sun.

It was alleged, after Dr. Sun's flight, that he had used the monthly grant to the Central Railway Corporation to assist in financing the revolt. No proof of this charge was ever adduced. But some months later it became known that he had disposed of the balance of the lease of the Corporation's offices, together with the furniture and fittings, for a sum of \$10,000!

The collapse of the rebellion (generally known as "the Second Revolution") left the Kuomintang thoroughly cowed. Parliament rushed through that portion of the Permanent Constitution providing for the election of the formal President. Two days

ater both Houses met in joint session to elect the President. The first and second ballots were indecisive ; Yuan Shih-kai headed the poll on each occasion with 471 and 497 votes respectively (Sun Yat-sen received 13 and 12). In the third and final ballot he secured 507 votes to General Li Yuan-hung's 179. The latter was elected Vice-President next day.

It had been intimated that the Treaty Powers (other than America, which had accorded recognition on May 2) would recognize the Republic as soon as a formal President was elected. They did so in time to enable their Envoys to participate in Yuan Shih-kai's formal inauguration, which took place in the old Imperial Palace on October 10.

For the remainder of the month Parliament busied itself with the drafting of the rest of the Constitution. President Yuan took strong exception to certain of the proposed provisions, but his wishes were ignored. Thereupon a flood of inspired petitions and denunciations flowed in from the Tutuhs and other high Provincial officials. On November 4 a Mandate appeared dissolving the Kuomintang, prescribing it as a seditious organization, and depriving all Kuomintang members of the two Houses of their seats. Parliament, therefore could not obtain a quorum with which to function, the members began to drift back to their homes, and on January 10, 1914, it was formally dissolved. In December General Li Yuan-hung left Wuchang for Peking, where he took up his residence in one of the buildings in the Imperial Palace, close to that occupied by Yuan Shih-kai.

CHAPTER VIII

CHINA FOR SALE—TO JAPAN

THE 1913 Rebellion resulted in a split—or rather several splits—in the Kuomintang ranks. Some of the leading members threw in their lot with Yuan. Those who did not seemed to waver in allegiance between Dr. Sun and Huang Hsing. The former attempted to reorganize the Party under another name, with himself as sole leader of *Tsung Li*. When he required an oath of allegiance to his person, certified by a finger print, it was more than some of his own supporters could stomach. They left him and scattered to the four corners of the earth.

But Dr. Sun nevertheless regarded himself as the *Tsung Li*, possessing the right, it would appear, even to offer China for sale to gain his own ends. The most charitable explanation to offer of the document that will be printed in this chapter is that he was at that time a megalomaniac, so convinced of his own infallibility and importance, that the mere sale of China's birthright was a matter of trifling importance in the scheme of things.

The letter that he wrote to Count Okuma (who became Premier of Japan in April, 1914) on May 11, 1914, though published in the *North China Daily News* the following month, did not attract so much attention as might have been expected

because it was difficult to believe that it was genuine, and also, probably, because Dr. Sun was regarded as an exploded political force. Its genuineness, however, is no longer questioned in responsible Chinese circles. In the *China Critic* (a weekly Journal in English, published and edited by Chinese returned students, in Shanghai) of July 5, 1934, there was an article by Dr. Chiang Ting-fu, Professor of the History Department at Tsinghua University, who was Managing Editor of the *Chinese Political and Social Science Review*, and the author of several historical and political works. Writing on the question of a Dictatorship for China, he states:—

“Even Dr. Sun Yat-sen, whose purity of purpose is above suspicion, could not withstand the temptation of making a bid for foreign assistance. In his letter to Baron Okuna, dated May 11, 1914, he appealed to the Japanese statesman for help, so that the Chinese people and Government may become friendly to Japan, and we may throw the entire China market open to Japanese industrialists and business men who will enjoy virtually monopolistic privileges. . . . In another part of this letter Dr. Sun actually tried to show that Yuan Shih-kai was not sincere in his dealing with the Japanese. If Dr. Sun could stoop so low, what about others of more questionable integrity?”

In the *North China Herald* of June 20, 1914, two letters appear, under the following headings:—

SUN YAT-SEN'S PATRIOTISM
ASTONISHING APPEAL TO JAPAN
CHINA FOR SALE

The following two letters have reached us from a source in the *bona-fides* of which we have every reason to believe. The first letter is from a prominent revolutionary:—

"For the past twelve years I have been pursuing the revolutionary course along with Dr. Sun. That I am still alive after what occurred last year is miraculous. As our declared object was to preserve the integrity of our mother country so it was a great surprise to me when my attention was drawn to a letter addressed to a certain high personage by Dr. Sun. The contents of the letter indicate in an unmistakable manner that he means to reduce China to a state of dependency such as that of India; indeed he is to China as Li Yuan-yun was to Korea.

The step he now takes is altogether against my cherished hopes, and it is impossible for me to follow his lead any longer. I cause this letter to be published in order that members of our party may be acquainted with, and take into careful consideration, his recent astounding act. The letter is as follows:—

(Letter alleged to have been written by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to a high personage in Japan.)

Sir,

I have the honour to bring to your notice the desirability of Japan assisting China in her efforts to reform, as the adoption of such a policy will tend to relieve the critical situation in the Far East. To compensate for the assistance rendered by Japan, China is willing to throw open her whole country to Japanese industrial and commercial enterprises. The two countries are so reciprocally dependent that when the proposed measures are carried into effect, the result will be mutually advantageous. On the one hand, it will enable Japan to jump to the forefront of the world's greatest Powers, and to occupy a position similar to that of Great Britain; while, on the other, China will be able to preserve her integrity, develop her latent resources and become one of the rich countries on the Continent of Asia. Thus Japan and China will then be in a position, with the assistance of each other, to maintain the peace of the world and to bring its civilization to a higher level.

Such great work is indeed without a parallel in the chronologies of the world. The time is now ripe, and the opportunity thus accorded, should not be lost. Therefore, I hope you will carefully consider the points enumerated below:—

In the past days when China was suffering under the despotic rule of the late Ching *regime* the people rose *en bloc* with a view to superseding the Absolute Monarchy by Republicanism. The Mintang (i.e. the People's Party) holding in high respect humanitarian principles sought to alleviate calamities caused by bloodshed by negotiating for peace which was arranged between the North and the South, and led to the abdication of the late Ching Emperor. Yuan was

subsequently elected as the President of the Republic of China, and, on assuming office, he took the oath that he would forever observe the Constitution and remain loyal to the Republic of China. But since then he has acted in direct contravention of the Constitution and against right principles. Under the name of Republicanism he rules as a tyrant. Hence the people are very discontented and indignant, but they have no means to redress their grievances.

Though he is more tyrannical than the House of Ching, his authority over the country is far less respected. This accounts for the repeated insurrections during the past two years. That the Mintang will rise some day and the revolution will reappear, are foregone conclusions. But it is difficult to foretell when they can achieve success if they are devoid of help and dependent upon their own strength.

If, during the period of destruction, a powerful nation were to offer assistance, the struggle would not be prolonged. Such assistance will not only prevent great internal sacrifices, but will also remove foreign entanglements. As Japan is close to China, and the prosperity or ruination of the one affects the other, it is but natural that the revolutionaries should first seek aid from Japan.

While, during the period of construction, when the reform of administration, the training of the army, the encouragement of education, and the development of industries are all taken in hand, talents must be borrowed from more advanced countries to render assistance. Considering that Japan and China are nations of the same race and the same literature, there are weighty reasons for the revolutionaries to look for help from Japan. After Japan has assisted China to reorganize her administration, and religion, and to develop her potential resources, the Governments and peoples of the two countries will be on much more intimate terms than between other countries. China will throw open all the trade centres in the country to Japanese trade and merchants, and enable Japan to monopolize the commercial field in China.

When the time comes, China will desire to free herself from the restrictions imposed by former international dealings, and to revise unfair treaties; she will need Japan's support in handling diplomatic questions. Moreover, Japan can facilitate the abolition of extraterritoriality by giving her consent first. This will be beneficial to the Japanese, because it will enable them to live in the interior of China. By the time China regains her control over Customs she will enter a commercial alliance with Japan, whereby Japanese manufactures imported into China, and Chinese raw materials imported into Japan, will be exempted from paying duties. The prosperity of Japanese commerce and industry will go hand in hand with the development of the natural resources of China.

Great Britain is composed of mere islets, her area is small, yet her influence has ever been in the ascendant. It is scarcely necessary to mention that her influence is due to her acquisition of India as her great trading mart, and on this account the various Powers could not compete with her commercially. While the natural resources of Japan are practically exhausted, and there are no fields for further activities, China is large and rich with potential wealth yet to be developed. Japan could, therefore, without even incurring the trouble and expense of stationing troops as Great Britain did in India, acquire big commercial marts in China. Thus the benefits that will accrue to her will be doubly great. This is what I mean, as aforesaid, that she will leap to the forefront of the world's greatest Powers.

Japan could, however, never aspire to such a position if she continues her present policy towards China. The reason is this. In governing China Yuan ignores the trend of general affairs in the Far East. Outwardly he appears to cultivate the friendship of Japan, but he indulges in antagonism against her surreptitiously. Consequently, in dealing with China, Japan will not be able to compete with other countries even though she has equal opportunity. For instance, in the cases of the Hanyehping deal, the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, and the Petroleum Concession in Yenchang, either the Chinese Government procrastinated, or it instigated the people to rise in opposition, or it transferred rights originally conceded to Japan to some other country. China is now weak and her Government fears the good feelings between the Mintang and Japan should increase, so Yuan pretends to be eager to cultivate the good will, and at the same time practices the intrigues prevalent in the times of feudalism, when one Kingdom was played off against another.

This is how China deals with Japan now; when China is stronger, it is needless to say that Japan can only expect to get even worse treatment. Should Japan refuse to support China, the antagonism towards Japan will always be great while Yuan is in power. Even after that Government falls on its own accord, Japan cannot inspire the confidence of the Chinese people. For without that support, the relations of the two countries can never be as satisfactory as they should, and they cannot share the benefit that will accrue.

Speaking from another standpoint, if the Chinese Revolutionaries are devoid of the support of a strong nation, in connection with their campaign, longer time will be needed to achieve success, and after success is achieved they will fail to reform the administration and improve diplomatic relations. On this account the revolutionaries are now anxiously looking for support, and Japan would reap enormous benefit if she were to give this support. This illustrates what I have said in the foregoing, that the two countries

are so reciprocally dependent, that when the proposed measures are carried into effect the result will be mutually advantageous.

It is said that Japan cannot decide her policy concerning China without the consent of the British Government, but this is not an obstacle in the way. The real state of affairs in China has been recently exposed. When Yuan first took over his office, he spent a good deal of money in inducing foreign correspondents in China to report favourable news and express favourable views on Chinese affairs. The news and opinions thus retailed were credited by the British Government. The public opinion in England, however, has since undergone a marked change. The *Times* stated recently that Yuan had not the ability to suppress disturbance and restore peace.

Moreover, Great Britain and France are on the most friendly terms, the French Government and people have not any confidence in Yuan as may be seen from the cancellation of the Government's guarantee of the French-Chinese Bank Loan. The policy of the British Government towards China is 'perfect peace and order.' But it has since discovered its mistake in believing that Yuan is capable of keeping peace and order, and preserving the integrity of China. It is certain that it will now follow the example of France, and assume a different attitude towards China. If Japan suggests a practical method of solving China's problem which would lead to permanent peace in China, the step is sure to receive the approval of Great Britain. Since the Japanese Government usually consults with Great Britain on international questions, the latter also shapes her policy to meet the wishes of Japan.

It is my firm conviction that China can never have peace unless the governmental powers are in the hands of the Mintang. The reasons are that the Chinese are roughly divided into three classes, to wit, the official class, the Mintang and the masses. The last take no active part in politics. The official classes make energetic efforts to protect their personal interest, but their energy only lasts as long as they are in power. As soon as they are out of power they will offer no resistance. Such was the conspicuous example of Yuan himself when he was dismissed by the ex-Prince Regent. Yuan considered himself fortunate for having escaped death, and attempted nothing whatsoever by way of resistance. The Mintang, however, is composed of persons of different type; its members are fearless and determined to attain the end they have in view. Though the front ones may fall, having to bear the brunt of the misfortune, those behind will still forge forwards. They could not be suppressed even during the Ching Dynasty, when they were ruthlessly dealt with by the authorities. Anyone who has studied the conditions in China will realize that, as long as the Mintang fails to achieve

its object, China will never have peace. Therefore it is perfectly clear that the preservation of peace in China depends on the solution of one and only one problem.

Though it is an extraordinary matter for a Government to support the people of another country to overthrow their Government, yet extraordinary men accomplish extraordinary deeds in order to attain extraordinary results. You are the extraordinary man and this is the extraordinary opportunity, so I have dealt with the matter at length.

I, Sun Wen, am the representative of the Mintang, so I make bold to tell you what we hope from Japan. Moreover, if you consult history you will find that France supported America, Great Britain supported Spain, and the United States supported Panama. The support of France was accorded on the ground of humanitarian principles, that of Great Britain for self-preservation in the Napoleonic campaign, while the United States wanted to enjoy the facilities of the Panama Canal.

By assisting the Chinese to overthrow their despotic Government all the three merits mentioned above will accrue to the country that accords the support. What is the fear, then, which prevents this proposal from being acted upon. It is scarcely necessary to mention that, in order to prevent diplomatic complications, secrecy and adroitness are necessary for carrying the matter to a successful issue.

I offer my opinion for the interest of the future of the Far East, and entreat you to take it into your careful consideration, and to enlighten me with your opinion.

Yours, etc., etc.,

(Signed) SUN WEN.

Comment on the above seems superfluous. The man who later described the present status of China as that of a "hypo-Colony" of the "Imperialist Powers" was willing, in order to secure his personal ends, to hand over its trade, industries and natural resources for exclusive exploitation by its Island neighbour.

CHAPTER IX

A THREE-YEAR ECLIPSE

FOLLOWING the collapse of the Second Revolution Dr. Sun Yat-sen suffered a three-year eclipse, which was spent in exile, in Japan. As previously mentioned, on reaching that country he founded a new Party, known as the *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* (Chinese Revolutionary Society), but its membership was very small, and did not include several prominent members of the Kuomintang, such as Wang Ching-wei and Huang Hsing, who would neither submit to Dr. Sun's arbitrary methods, or to being finger-printed. Their places were taken by Chen Chi-mei, a man of very dubious repute, and Hu Han-min. Dr. Sun continued to intrigue in Japan. Numerous papers published, early in 1915, what purported to be the text of two contracts concluded by him with certain Japanese financial interests, under which he was to be supplied with funds, and with rifles and military advisers, to stage another revolt. There is much circumstantial evidence to suggest that these documents were actually executed. For at the time, March 1915, Yuan Shih-kai was being pressed by the Japanese Government to comply with the famous Twenty-one Demands, and, in April, a Mandate was issued in Peking, stating that Dr. Sun's agents were attempting to instigate incidents between the Chinese and Japanese, and

ordering the local authorities to make every effort to frustrate them.

The Japanese Minister, it may be remembered, submitted the Twenty-One Demands, acceptance of which would virtually have converted China into a Japanese Protectorate, to Yuan Shih-kai, under a strict injunction to maintain secrecy, in January, 1915. It was reported that when presenting them he intimated that if Yuan did not comply his Government might be unable to restrain the Chinese revolutionists who were conspiring against the President. The Twenty-One Demands, with the exception of Group V. (which contained the most obnoxious conditions) were imposed upon China by an Ultimatum, in May. Japan took advantage of the preoccupation of her Ally, Great Britain, with the War in Europe, and misled the British Government as to the nature and the number of her demands.

With Parliament out of the way, and the Japanese Demands disposed of, Yuan Shih-kai turned his thoughts from a Dictatorship to a Monarchy. Certain of his adherents organized appeals from the Provinces to him to ascend the Throne, and after a show of hesitation he agreed, and announced his intention of assuming the Imperial Crown early in 1916. It was soon apparent, however, that neither abroad nor in China was this move popular. Yuan was warned against proceeding with the project by the Japanese Government. Basing his stand, however, on the results of a faked referendum, he went ahead with his plans until, at the end of the year, the standard of revolt

was hoisted by Tsai Ao in Yunnan. Other Southern provinces proclaimed their independence in rapid succession, and a number of Yuan's own adherents denounced his Monarchical ambitions. The opposition became so formidable that on March 22, 1916, Yuan issued a Mandate renouncing the Monarchy, and complaining that he had been misled by those who sponsored it. It was too late to undo the damage, however. A Provisional Government had already been established at Canton, which proclaimed Li Yuan-hung President, and declared that Yuan had forfeited that position by his treason to the Republic. Dr. Sun's contribution at this crisis was a lengthy manifesto issued in May, 1916, from which only a few passages need be quoted:—

"He (Yuan) caused good and peaceful citizens to be put to death, and trampled upon the laws of the country. He corrupted public morals. He reduced the people to a state of misery. . . . I am of opinion that Yuan's continuance in office means the ruin of the country. I made up my mind to fight single-handed. I organized the *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* on the strictest principles with the object of removing all social and political evils, and of restoring the supremacy of the law."

Dr. Sun went on to claim that he had secured many adherents, and to urge that Yuan must not only be overthrown but that

"the traitor must be brought to justice. I have been engaged in destructive work all the time. But I thought it my duty at the same time to prepare a reconstructive scheme. Circumstances, however, have changed. There are now many men of ability who can heal the woes of the nation."

That he was not the moving spirit in the new revolt is shown by his statement that he disclaimed any personal ambition "nor am I a personal friend of the leaders of the anti-Yuan campaign in the independent Provinces."

The crisis seemed to have been solved by the sudden death of Yuan Shih-kai on June 6. General Li Yuan-hung, the Vice-President, who was still in Peking, immediately assumed the Presidency. But the revolting Provinces refused to cancel their independence unless the Constitution of the first Year of the Republic was revived, and Parliament was reconvened. To both of these conditions President Li agreed. Parliament reassembled on August 1, 1916, and a few days previously the dissolution of the *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* was announced.

Dr. Sun returned to China soon after Yuan's death, but did not deem it expedient to visit Canton, where Yuan's former nominee, Lung Chi-kuang was still Governor. The Republicans were insistent in their demands for Lung's removal, but it was only after considerable fighting, and a substantial cash payment, that he eventually withdrew, in the following October.

Dr. Sun made his headquarters in the French Concession at Shanghai, and paid visits to several adjacent ports, including Hangchow and Ningpo. In view of his vicious attacks upon the Foreign Settlements and Concessions a few years later, it is of interest to note that at both places he gave addresses on the importance of local self-government. At Hangchow, for instance, he told his audience that

"formerly Shanghai was a lonely desert, but after divers repairs, reformation and construction by foreign leaders, it grew to be an attractive place, and the focus of commerce, until now it has become a model of municipal government to the whole of China."

Parliament was continuing to pursue its futile course in Peking, where the old Party feuds had been renewed when, in February, 1917, America severed diplomatic relations with Germany, and despatched a Note to other Neutral Powers, including China, inviting them to do the same. A proposal to this effect was submitted to Parliament by President Li, but before it had taken any action, Dr. Sun decided to intervene. This he did in a telegram to Mr. Lloyd George, alleging that British officials were agitating to bring China into the conflict, stating that he had been approached with proposals to that effect, and warning him that the result of such action would be to stir up anti-foreign feelings among the Chinese, especially the Moslem elements, which might result in a general massacre. It was not obvious until some years later what prompted Dr. Sun's officious interference on this occasion. In an interview granted to a Japanese correspondent in Shanghai in November, 1922, he made it plain that his real objection was that China's alignment on the side of the Entente Powers would destroy his dream of a Pan-Asian movement :—

“In joining in the World War on the side of the Allied Powers,” he said

“Japan failed to utilise the golden opportunity of making Asia exclusive for the Asiatics. Such an Asia would have opposed the Whites, especially the Anglo-Saxons. At the beginning of the World War I wrote Mr. Inukai, President of the Kokuminto, urging Japan to assist the Teutonic Powers, thereby impairing the relative strength of the Anglo-Saxons, and balancing the power of the world. The result of such a situation would have been the promotion of Japan to the position of real leadership of the Asiatics. But Japan did not accept my advice, thus letting slip the Heaven-sent opportunity of making herself the leader of the Orient.”

The Peking Parliament approved of the severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany on March 11. America declared War on Germany the following month, and in May President Li recommended that China should do likewise. To the "second step," however, there was considerable opposition, owing to rumours of secret engagements entered into by the Premier, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, with "a neighbouring country." Marshal Tuan thereupon attempted to coerce the Parliamentarians by hired demonstrators. It became known that the latter had been assembled by his orders, and Parliament dug its toes in, and refused to act. Practically all of the members of the Cabinet then resigned, and Parliament declared that it would not discuss the question of a declaration of war until the Ministry had been reconstituted. President Li, in desperation, dismissed Marshal Tuan, and was immediately confronted with the risk of a military revolt. With no army of his own to rely on, President Li invited the pig-tailed General Chang Hsun to come up to the Capital to mediate. General Chang immediately responded, but before his troops had even reached Peking insisted upon the dissolution of Parliament. President Li yielded, and many Parliamentarians left for the South to reorganize the Legislature in Canton. On arrival at the Capital General Chang Hsun, using the name of President Li, proclaimed the Restoration of the Manchu Emperor, and formed a Cabinet of Imperialists. He claimed, later, that he did so with the concurrence of Marshal Tuan and other Northern militarists. If that is true it would appear

that his dictatorial attitude and monopolising of power, affronted his colleagues. Marshal Tuan, Tsao Kun and other Northern militarists joined in a punitive expedition. On July 12, 1917, twelve days after the Restoration, General Chang was decisively defeated, and sought asylum in the Netherlands Legation. President Li, who had taken refuge in the Legation Quarter after the *coup*, refused to resume office, and General Feng Kuo-chang, the Vice-President, who succeeded him, reappointed Marshal Tuan as Premier. On August 14, a Mandate was issued declaring war on the Central Powers.

In the meantime an independent Government had been constituted in Canton. For a description of its formation and activities the reader must be referred to the following Chapter.

CHAPTER X

A GENERALISSIMO WITHOUT AUTHORITY

WHEN President Li Yuan-hung was coerced by General Chang Hsun into dissolving Parliament, on June 10, 1917, many of the Southern members left for Shanghai, where, on July 18, they issued a Manifesto denouncing Tuan Chi-jui's return to power. Shortly afterwards they departed *en bloc* for Canton. Dr. Sun, accompanied by a portion of the Chinese Navy which had revolted against Peking followed, stopping en route at Swatow to speechify, and reaching Canton on July 25. Though a quorum could not be obtained the Parliamentary Rump decided to organize a "constitutional" government in the south. Before it had been organized Peking had declared war on the Central Powers (August 14). The Southern Parliament, on August 25, in the presence of Dr. Sun and presumably with his approval (in spite of his mischievous cable to Mr. Lloyd George earlier in the year) issued a Declaration of War against Germany on August 25. It was suggested at the time that this was merely "eyewash," and for some time afterwards Canton was a hotbed of German intrigue.

It was decided, in order not to emphasize national disunity, not to elect a President of the Southern Government, but in September Dr. Sun was elected Generalissimo, and thus had the satisfaction of

strutting about in military uniform. He was at this time residing on a gunboat off Canton, whence he made a ceremonial landing after his election. Though he had the title of Generalissimo it was an empty one, for the military power in the South was in the hands of the Vice-Generalissimos Lu Yung-ting and Tang Chi-yao. The latter controlled the Yunnan and Kweichow forces; the former those in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The Military Government thus established contained Dr. Wu Ting-fang (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Tang Shao-yi (Minister of Finance), and Hu Han-min (Minister of Communications). It was decided to form a Northern Punitive Expedition, and, on October 7, nine days after a Mandate had been issued in Peking ordering the arrest of Dr. Sun, he issued a manifesto denouncing President Feng as a traitor. Dr. Sun's position, however, was not a happy one. The Vice-Generalissimos and other militarists were much more interested in scheming for power amongst themselves than in campaigning against the Northerners. Many of the Parliamentarians favoured General Lu Yung-ting rather than the Generalissimo. The administration of the Southern Provinces became more and more chaotic, as days went by, and the pretence that a constitutional regime had been inaugurated soon proved to be a farce. On January 17, 1918, the establishment of a South-Western Federation was announced, consisting of all provinces South of the Yangtze except Kiangsi, and including Szechwan. The Directorate, which included several Generals, was not willing to concede autocratic

powers to Dr. Sun, and at the instigation of the militarists Parliament, early in May, adopted a resolution for the reorganization of the Government, and the abolition of the office of Generalissimo. Dr. Sun, who could not tolerate this affront, resigned on May 4, packed up his things, and left for Shanghai, via Formosa, arriving there on June 26. It was destined that two years would elapse before he would see Canton again.

A vivid picture of conditions in Kwangtung on the eve of his departure appeared in a letter from a Kwangtung correspondent to the *North China Daily News* in April:—

"It is well known that Dr. Sun not only sought to raise the brigands in the North, but that the recent successes of the South in Kwangtung Province were largely won with the aid of local bands, some of whose members acted as will o' the wisp guides to the Northern troops, while others undertook to carry their baggage, and did carry it—away. . . . Again, so far as I can see, there is no vestige of Constitutional government here. The country is under the control of the military, whose leaders are bleeding it systematically, but with no show of justice, to find pay for their troops. Still worse, however, the sinews of war are largely raised by the legalization of gambling. The old idealism of 1911—12 has been cynically abandoned. The grant of the gambling monopoly to the military was put through the Provincial Assembly by wholesale bribery a year or two ago, on the score of which the Speaker of the Assembly, a Christian, resigned his office. The monopoly brought in large sums, but at first was confined to a lottery drawn every ten days. The expulsion of the Northern troops, however, was signaled by a great extension of the different forms of public gambling, and all along the main thoroughfares one sees again the red-bordered blue cloth signs, with their specious designs, and the gaudily painted exteriors of the innumerable saloons. The appearance of the Military Government and the Rump Parliament in Canton has made no difference to this state of things. The movement for constitutional ends and the salvation of the people is being supported by a system that at once debauches and oppresses the people."

The Canton regime remained independent of the Peking Government in spite of the latter's efforts to bring about a return of Southern allegiance. It even went so far, in October, 1918, as to declare war upon the new President Hsu Shih-chang, who had been elected to succeed the corrupt and unpopular Feng Kuo-chang. It made little headway, however, in the conflict with the North, which merely served to give rival militarists pretexts for reinforcing their armies, and practising further extortion upon the unfortunate population.

A so-called reorganization of the Southern Government was effected in August, 1918, and the name of Dr. Sun was included among its members. But he decided that for the time being he was safer in Shanghai, and declined all invitations to proceed South again. Summing up the situation in the South at the end of the year, the *North China Daily News* remarked that

"while arrogating to itself the name of Government, the S.W. Federation has no control five miles outside Canton. Within the memory of the most experienced men, brigandage and lawlessness generally have never been so rampant as they are through all the Southern provinces."

But, as the reader will learn later, this was usually the position whenever Dr. Sun had managed to regain a foothold in the South, even for a few months. The unhappy people invariably found that they had exchanged the "whips" of the allegedly unconstitutional authorities, for the "scorpions" of the so-called constitutional regime.

An Armistice arranged between North and South in November, 1918, though it did not lead to an agreement between them, enabled China to send

a joint Delegation to the Peace Conference. During the negotiations about the future of Shantung, feeling among the student elements in China rose to fever point. Rioting took place in Peking, where the students attacked the residences of certain notoriously pro-Japanese officials, and a boycott of Japanese goods was started, which spread all over the country. The so-called Anfu Clique, of which Marshal Tuan was the head, which relied upon Japanese financial support, was daily becoming more unpopular. In the face of public opposition it dared not authorize the signature of the Versailles Treaty. The Anfu Clique was overthrown in July, 1920, by the Chihli militarists, Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu, in alliance with Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian War-lord. Throughout China there were rejoicings that Japanese domination of the Government had been ended.

CHAPTER XI.

PRESIDENT AND REFUGEE ON A BRITISH GUNBOAT

The year 1920 found Dr. Sun still living and intriguing, in Shanghai, and a so-called constitutional government, headed by Tsen Chun-hsuan, functioning in Canton and Kwangtung, where it maintained itself by the employment of Kwangsi and Yunnan troops. Repeated attempts to settle China's domestic differences by means of a peace conference, had failed. Early in the year dissensions broke out between two rivals for the command of the Yunnanese forces—Li Lieh-chun and Li Kanyuan. Tsen Chun-hsuan left for North Kwangtung to mediate, and in his absence Dr. Wu Ting-fang slipped out of Canton and proceeded to Shanghai. After his arrival there it was announced that the Southern "Constitutional" Government had "removed" to the latter port, where Dr. Sun, Dr. Wu, and Tang Shao-yi would act as "Administrative Directors." Their claims to "govern" South China from the French Concession were of course, farcical. Dr. Sun, however, went a step further in proclaiming himself "head" of the "Government" in June. As already related the Anfu (pro-Japanese) clique in Peking was overthrown by the Chihli militarists, in alliance with Chang Tso-lin the Manchurian War-lord, in July. Marshal Tuan, its leader, was forced into retirement; General Hsu Shu-tseng ("Little" Hsu) who commanded

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CHAPTER XI.

PRESIDENT AND REFUGEE ON A BRITISH GUNBOAT

The year 1920 found Dr. Sun still living and intriguing, in Shanghai, and a so-called constitutional government, headed by Tsen Chun-hsuan, functioning in Canton and Kwangtung, where it maintained itself by the employment of Kwangsi and Yunnan troops. Repeated attempts to settle China's domestic differences by means of a peace conference, had failed. Early in the year dissensions broke out between two rivals for the command of the Yunnanese forces—Li Lieh-chun and Li Kan-yuan. Tsen Chun-hsuan left for North Kwangtung to mediate, and in his absence Dr. Wu Ting-fang slipped out of Canton and proceeded to Shanghai. After his arrival there it was announced that the Southern "Constitutional" Government had "removed" to the latter port, where Dr. Sun, Dr. Wu, and Tang Shao-yi would act as "Administrative Directors." Their claims to "govern" South China from the French Concession were of course, farcical. Dr. Sun, however, went a step further in proclaiming himself "head" of the "Government" in June. As already related the Anfu (pro-Japanese) clique in Peking was overthrown by the Chihli militarists, in alliance with Chang Tso-lin the Manchurian War-lord, in July. Marshal Tuan, its leader, was forced into retirement; General Hsu Shu-tseng ("Little" Hsu) who commanded

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the Anfu Army, had to seek refuge in the Japanese Legation. Dr. Sun immediately entered into an intrigue with Marshal Tuan, whom he attempted to whitewash in a manifesto.

Under Tsen Chun-hsuan and the Kwangsi-Yunnan militarists conditions in Kwangtung grew rapidly worse. In August 1920, General Chen Chiung-ming, a former Tutuh of the Province, and Commander of the Kwangtung forces, revolted and placed himself at the head of a "Kwangtung for the Kwangtungese" movement. The population flocked to his standard, and his campaign was so successful that by the end of October he had occupied Canton, and driven most of the Kwangsi-Yunnan forces outside the Province. He was immediately appointed Civil Governor of Kwangtung and Commander-in-Chief.

On November 25, 1920, the triumvirate—Dr. Sun, Dr. Wu and Tang Shao-yi—left Shanghai for the South, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Cantonese, who now, above all things, desired to be left in peace to administer their own Province, and to avoid the complications and expense of further "punitive" expeditions. Friction developed almost as soon as the party reached Canton, for Dr. Sun was determined to follow up the conquest of Kwangtung by that of Kwangsi, to which General Chen Chiung-ming was strongly opposed. He urged that the most important task was the reorganization of the provincial administration, and had made a start by abolishing public gambling, from the revenues of which the Kwangsi and Yunnan troops had been paid.

against subscription to the bonds of this loan, owing to the instability of Dr. Sun's regime, and the improbability of repayment.

It was not until the end of June, 1921, that he was able to induce General Chen Chiung-ming to attack Kwangsi, and then only because the Peking Government had ordered an invasion of Kwangtung and the Southern Commander felt that military action against the neighbouring province came within the scope of "defensive" warfare. Kweilin and Nanning were occupied in July, and encouraged by these successes Dr. Sun planned an expedition against Peking itself, beginning with the suppression of General Wu Pei-fu in Hunan. When General Chen showed lack of enthusiasm, Dr. Sun himself assumed command of the Punitive Expedition.

Writing in October, 1921, a contributor to the *North China Herald* who signed himself "Bruce Baxter" asserted that:—

"The whole scheme of Sun Yat-sen for the conquest of China depends entirely upon the employment of all military commanders who have been defeated by one party or the other in the North, irrespective of their sincerity or patriotism. On many occasions Sun Yat-sen has employed bandits in attempting to overthrow his political opponents; especially is this true in regard to his efforts in Kiangsu and Anhwei. . . . I do not intend to convey the idea that Sun Yat-sen is a corrupt official, but he is so overcome with the sense of his superiority that he believes anyone who will submit to his authority can be employed in the salvation of China. It does not seem to occur to him that the employment of men like Chen Shu-fan, Hsu Shu-tseng ("Little" Hsu), Chen Chien and Liu Tsen-hou and many others will mean the return to power of self-seeking individuals who, after utilizing Sun Yat-sen, will turn upon him. Sun Yat-sen seems to be obsessed with the idea that he is utilizing men of the type mentioned, though in reality it is Sun Yat-sen that is being exploited by them."

At this time Dr. Sun was intriguing with the old Anfu leaders in the North. Early in 1922 Dr.

C. C. Wu was sent to Mukden to seek an alliance with Marshal Chang Tso-lin. At that time Dr. Sun's idea was to establish the National Government with himself as President, in the Wu-Han Cities (Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang). But as he naively explained, to an interviewer, the project would only work if Chang Tso-lin "took his orders"—of which there was not the remotest possibility.

The Kwangsi campaign in 1921 resulted in a deficit of 20 million dollars in the Kwangtung budget. But that did not worry Dr. Sun. He continued to issue Provincial Notes without reserves. "We have found that it is not essential to provide a cash reserve nor to promise to redeem money on demand," he explained. So confident was he of his prowess that he told an interviewer to expect him in Peking in the autumn (of 1922). He cherished the illusion that Wu Pei-fu's armies would flee from his own forces as soon as it was known that he was in personal command.

It was during this period that serious labour troubles developed in Canton. Though denying that he fomented them, Dr. Sun showed his hand by unconditionally pardoning a leader of the Seamen's Union who had been convicted of a peculiarly blood-thirsty murder. The Unions were permitted to veto the employment of new and modern machinery, on the ground that it reduced employment. Dr. Sun naively remarked when questioned on this point that the thing to do was for the capitalists to bring in still more machinery, so as to increase employment!

April, 1922, found Dr. Sun campaigning in the vicinity of Kweilin, with his funds completely exhausted. When he decided to return to Canton to raise more money General Chen Chiung-ming intimated that he would not be allowed to pass. About the same time Chen resigned from the Civil Governorship, and was dismissed from the post of Commander-in-Chief. He left Canton. So too, did Tang Shao-yi, who retired to his native village, where he made no secret, to callers, of his opposition to Dr. Sun's military adventures.

Conditions in Kwangsi at this time beggared description. Correspondents from all parts of the province depicted an appalling state of affairs. Houses and schools were looted and destroyed by Dr. Sun's unpaid, ragamuffin troops. Scores of people were barbarously executed daily. The army of the "Constitutional" Government virtually succeeded in turning the province into a desert. The population sighed for the return of their former military rulers, whose administration had been mild compared with the misrule of Dr. Sun and his subordinates.

The dismissal of General Chen Chiung-ming brought matters to a crisis. His subordinate commanders and troops became mutinous when they heard the news. And he was induced to head a movement to drive Dr. Sun out of the province. Dr. Sun hurriedly returned to Canton, which was occupied by General Chen's forces on the night of June 15—16, 1922. He then took refuge on a Chinese gunboat, leaving his wife to escape in disguise when his residence was attacked. On

June 17 and 18 Dr. Sun's gunboat and three others steamed up and down the river bombarding the City doing serious damage, and causing serious loss of life. He only desisted when the American Consul protested against the firing upon an undefended city. His gunboats then withdrew to Whampoa but managed to elude the forts in misty weather and returned and anchored off Shameen on July 10. Thereupon the foreign naval vessels cleared for action, and announced their intention of resisting any further attempts to bombard Canton, which would have imperilled the Foreign Concessions. Dr. Sun was bottled up in the river. His attempts to raise a revolt among his sympathisers in Canton failed. So too did his defiance of the new President in Peking—Li Yuan-hung—and his effort to enlist support from Marshal Tuan and "Little" Hsu, in the North. On July 4 the Canton Provincial Assembly telegraphed to President Li announcing the abolition of the Southern Government. On the afternoon of August 9, under arrangements made by the British Consul-General, Dr. Sun left for Hongkong on H.M.S. *Moorhen*. Before sailing thence on an Empress vessel, for Shanghai, he telegraphed to thank the British authorities for arranging for his safety.

A few days before he left Canton Admiral Wen Shu-teh, Naval Commander-in-Chief at Canton, in a long and scathing letter, repudiated his authority.

"The reason why the Navy has deserted you, is that your boastful words do not accord with realities. I maintain neutrality because I am aware of the senselessness of torturing the people by useless fighting and because I cannot bear,

82 THE STRANGE APOTHEOSIS OF SUN YAT-SEN

for no earthly use, to make men-of-war, so valuable to the nation, targets of cannon-balls. . . The best course for you to take is to leave Canton as soon as possible, and patiently await a chance to come to the fore again."

Dr. Wu Ting-fang died at Canton on June 23.

On arrival at Shanghai Dr. Sun gave out a lengthy statement denouncing General Chen Chiung-ming as a "traitor" and accusing him of seeking to make Kwangtung his own feudal domain. "I considered it my duty," he is made to say,

"to attempt a liquidation of the military situation at Canton before coming North to assist at a settlement of the larger national question, but I have had to leave the Canton situation unliquidated for the present because my further stay there became less imperative than my presence in a centre where it would be possible to meet other national leaders of the country either personally or through their accredited representatives, with a view to effecting the reunification of China. This is the reason why I have come to Shanghai."

"Believe it or not" that is Dr. Sun's explanation of his flight from Canton in a British gunboat !

CHAPTER XII

INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUES

WHEN Dr. Sun was expelled from Canton for the second time his stock was very low. His status was not unfairly described on the eve of his expulsion by a not unsympathetic American observer, Mr. N. Pfeffer, in *Asia Magazine*, as follows :—

“That he has outlived his usefulness even to the cause to which he has dedicated his life, I believe to be indisputable. He monopolizes that cause. Canton always has been and still is the home of the most advanced spirits in the country. In Canton now is the best single group of men in China, the men best suited to lead China to solid ground. They are paralysed by Dr. Sun. Whenever they make a beginning to what may be called reconstruction, Sun enters, reasserts his leadership—because of his historical position, and really powerful personality, which cannot be denied him by anybody else in Canton—and diverts the movement to some mad political adventure of conquest to which it spends its energy and dies.”

Dr. Sun had hardly left Canton on this occasion when the *Hongkong Telegraph* published translations of documents showing that he had been scheming for a Canton-German-Russian Alliance.

One of these documents is of sufficient interest to justify reproduction. It is a letter, dated Berlin, January 1, 1922, from one Chu Wu-chong, to Dr. Sun, describing how he has spent the allotment of \$6,000 remitted to him the previous July, and asking for further funds. He states that he has got into touch with Von Hintze, formerly German Minister to China and reports as follows :—

"Mr. Hintze, formerly German Minister to China, understands perfectly the situation in China, and having for eight years been charged with a special military mission to Russia he has established a large number of acquaintances in that country. He speaks English, Russian, and French wonderfully well. Above all he is an adept to new ideas, full of energy and tact. His plans are in keeping with the current trend of democratic opinion. He is, in short, a man of whom one would find very few in Germany.

Before my arrival in Berlin Von Hintze had already thought of concluding a 'Triplice' between China, Germany and Russia, a plan which would conform to your secret objects. Since I have taken up the negotiations with him, he has put aside all other matters to devote his attention specially to this question.

In two months' time when all the arrangements have been made, he will ask the authorization of the German Prime Minister to leave for China."

On my humble advice Hintze will be appointed Director-General of the Bureau which we intend to establish. The heads of the different departments will then be nominated. As to the officials required, the decisions to be taken, the materials necessary, the heads of departments will confer. The Director-General will specially fill the role of your Councillor.

The heads of departments will also decide what agents to send immediately, what materials will be necessary, what materials will have to be imported later on, what measures are to be taken without delay, and what measures have to be taken and enforced at some later date. Upon all these points the final decision will rest with you, in agreement with Director-General Hintze.

The entente being from that time completed between ourselves and the foreigners and the principles having been well established, our project will make rapid progress.

Above all, because of his great notoriety, Hintze must assume a false name and his participation must be kept dark from the German public."

Further correspondence showed that Dr. Sun ordered more money to be sent to Berlin, and that arrangements should be made to meet von Hintze. On the basis of this disclosure the Hongkong paper accused Dr. Sun of "conspiring to bring about an alliance between China, Germany and Russia based on Bolshevik ideals."

In a statement issued in Shanghai Dr. Sun took exception to the italicized words at the conclusion of the last paragraph, but admitted that he was in favour of "a policy looking towards a close rapprochement with those two Powers."

* * * *

It may be recalled that in May, 1914, Dr. Sun in a letter which has been quoted *in extenso* on a previous page, wrote to Count Okuma virtually offering to make China into a Japanese protectorate in return for her assistance to him in his campaign against Yuan Shih-kai. In June, 1920, when the question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was under consideration, he stated in an interview that he was uncompromisingly opposed to this course, on the ground that it would mean a Japanese hegemony over Asia. "I am deadly opposed to any renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," he said, "because it is detrimental to China. . . . If it was argued that Japan unbound by the Alliance, would be able to do harm in India, how much more harm would be done if China became dominated by Japan." He favoured, as an alternative, an Anglo-Chinese alliance, which would enable both countries to resist Japan.

In November, 1922, he gave an interview to the Shanghai Correspondent of the Japanese newspaper, *Jiji*, in the course of which he asserted that "In joining in the world war on the side of the Allied Powers Japan failed to utilize a golden opportunity of making Asia exclusive for the Asiatics, and herself 'the leader of the Orient.' " He declared that he had written to Mr. Inukai, leader of the

Seiyukai, at the outset of the Great War, urging him to advocate an alliance with the Central Powers, and a declaration of War upon the Entente.

"If Japan had understood what is called high politics, and if she had been bold enough to declare war against the Allies, Annam and Singapore would have risen in arms against France and England. There is not the slightest doubt but that the Indians would have revolted against Great Britain, and that the Turks and Chinese would have recovered their national consciousness, and supported Japan in her efforts to unite Asia. It is not too late for Japan to undo what she did blindly during the War. 'He went on to urge that Japan should make friendly overtures to the Russians,' in whose veins considerable Asiatic blood flows."

We thus have Dr. Sun within the short period of two-and-a-half years:—

1. Urging Britain to ally herself with China to resist Japanese hegemony in Asia.
2. Advocating a Russo-German-Chinese Alliance against the "imperialist" Powers.
3. Rebuking Japan for not assuming the leadership and control of a Pan-Asiatic movement, and informing her that it was not yet too late to undo the mistake and make herself the "leader of the Orient."

But there was more to come. In January, 1923, Adolf Abramovitch Joffe, the Soviet Envoy to China, who had been unsuccessful in his Treaty negotiations with the Peking Government owing to the latter's insistence upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Outer Mongolia, visited Shanghai. During his stay in that city he paid daily visits to Dr. Sun.

On January 26, 1923, they issued a joint statement, which read as follows:—

"During his stay in Shanghai, Mr. Joffe has had several conversations with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which have revealed the identity of their views on matters relating to Chinese-Russian relations, more especially on the following points:—

(1) Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China, because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by M. Joffe, who is further of opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence, and regarding this great task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia.

(2) In order to clarify the situation, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has requested M. Joffe for a reaffirmation of the principles defined in the Russian Note to the Chinese Government dated September 27, 1920. M. Joffe has accordingly re-affirmed these principles and categorically declared to Dr. Sun Yat-sen that the Russian Government is ready and willing to enter into negotiations with China on the basis of renunciation by Russia of all the Treaties and exactions which the Tsardom imposed on China, including the Treaty or Treaties and agreements relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway (the management of which being the subject of a specific reference in Article VII of the said Note).

(3) Recognizing that the Chinese Eastern Railway question in its entirety can be satisfactorily settled only at a competent Russo-Chinese Conference, Dr. Sun Yat-sen is of the opinion that the realities of the situation point to the desirability of a *modus vivendi* in the matter of the present management of the Railway. And he agrees with M. Joffe that the existing Railway management should be temporarily re-organized by agreement between the Chinese and the Russian Government, without prejudice, however, to the true rights and special interests of either party. At the same time Dr. Sun Yat-sen considers that General Chang Tso-lin should be consulted on the point.

(4) M. Joffe has categorically declared to Dr. Sun Yat-sen (who has fully satisfied himself as to this) that it is not and never has been the intention or purpose of the present Russian Government to pursue an Imperialistic policy in Outer Mongolia, or to cause it to secede from China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, therefore, does not view an immediate evacuation of Russian troops from Outer Mongolia as either imperative or in the real interest of China, the more so on account of the inability of the present Government at Peking to prevent such an evacuation being followed by a recrudescence of intrigues and hostile activities by White Guardists against Russia and the creation of a graver situation than that which now exists.

88 THE STRANGE APOTHEOSIS OF SUN YAT-SEN

M. Joffe has parted from Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the most cordial and friendly terms. On leaving Japan to which he is now proceeding, he will again visit South China before finally returning to Peking.

It will be noticed that M. Joffe was negotiating on important questions of foreign policy with a rebel leader who had sought asylum in the French Concession in Shanghai. And it may be added that Outer Mongolia remains to this day an integral part of the Soviet Republic.

CHAPTER XIII

BACK TO CANTON—VIA HONGKONG

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, it may be remembered, was compelled to leave Canton in 1918 by the Kwangsi-Yunnan militarists. He was able to return in 1920 because General Chen Chiung-ming, with his "Kwangtung for the Kwangtungese" movement, had defeated the Kwangsi-Yunnan forces and virtually driven them out of the Province. Expelled from Canton again in 1922 by General Chen Chiung-ming, who opposed his grandiose schemes of conquest, and the exactions they imposed upon the population, he proceeded to intrigue with the Kwangsi-Yunnan leaders to encompass General Chen's overthrow. They succeeded in retaking Canton, and on January 27, 1923, Dr. Sun had actually arranged to sail for the South to re-establish his "constitutional Government" when word reached him that the successful militarists were no longer anxious for his support. "To put it plainly" said the *China Weekly Review*, at the time, "they used Dr. Sun's money to recapture Canton and eliminate General Chiung-ming, and after achieving their object they had no further use for the 'liberator.'" The same Journal, on February 10, accused Dr. Sun of preaching disarmament on the one hand, and "supplying funds and moral support for an example of the worst and most mediæval type of tribal warfare with which China had been cursed in recent years."

Dr. Sun postponed his departure for the South until February 15, by which time he had received more reassuring news. He stated on the eve of sailing that

"he was returning to Canton at the invitation of the Government, and will endeavour to carry out a policy of disarmament of all troops in the Southern area as soon as it may be practicable. He believes that as long as various factions possess large quantities of arms the reunification of China is impossible. He pledged himself to work as hard as possible for his earliest ideal, namely, the unification of China, but believed that it could not be brought about through further bloodshed."

As he appeared on this occasion to be bringing peace, instead of the sword, with him, the British authorities at Hongkong extended a friendly reception to him. He was entertained at Government House, and permitted to deliver an address at Hongkong University. The half hour speech in which he rhapsodized over the condition of the British Colony is of interest in view of his violently anti-British pronouncements less than two years later. Here it is in full:—

"I feel as though I had returned home, because Hongkong and its University are my intellectual birthplace. I have never before been able to answer the question properly, but now I feel I am in a position to answer it to-day. The question is: 'Where did I get my revolutionary and modern ideas from?' The answer is: 'I got them in this very place, in the Colony of Hongkong. I am going to tell you how I got those ideas.

More than thirty years ago I was studying in Hongkong and spent a great deal of my spare time in walking the streets of the Colony. Hongkong impressed me a great deal because there was orderly calm, and because there was artistic work being done without interruption. I went to my home in Heng Shan twice a year, and immediately noticed the difference. There was disorder instead of order, insecurity instead of security. When I arrived at home I had to be my own policeman and my own protector. The first matter for my care was to see my rifle was in order, and to make

sure plenty of ammunition was still left. I had to prepare for action for the night. Each time it was like this, year after year.

I compared Heung Shan with Hongkong, and although they are only fifty miles apart the difference of the government oppressed me very much. Afterwards I saw the outside world, and I began to wonder how it was that foreigners, that Englishmen, could do so much as they had done, for example, with the barren rock of Hongkong within seventy or eighty years, while in four thousand years China had no place like Hongkong. After I had studied all this I went home to persuade the village elders to do the same thing on a small scale—at least to clear the streets and make a road to the next village; but they said: 'We have not any money.' I replied: 'Labour can be had. We young men can start the work.' And so, while I was at home I swept the street and cleaned the road. Many young men followed my example, but immediately we began to work outside the village there was trouble, and I had to give up getting Hongkong on a small scale.

Later, I approached the Magistrate of the District. He was very sympathetic, and promised to help during the next vacation, but when the next vacation came round I found there was a new Magistrate, a man who had paid \$50,000 for the post, and so the previous holder had been removed.

Such cases, one after another, impressed me, and when I returned to Hongkong I began to study the Government. I found that among Government officials corruption was the exception and purity the rule. It was quite the contrary in China, where corruption among the officials was the rule. I thought that the Provincial Government would be better, and so I went to Canton, but I found that the higher the Government, the more corrupt it was, and finally I went to Peking, where I found things one hundred times more corrupt and rotten even than in Canton, and I was forced to the opinion that after all village government was the purest government in China. I was told that good governments in England and in Europe were not at first natural to those places, but that men had brought about a change themselves. In England a few hundred years ago, there were just the same forgeries in the Courts, and the same cruelty, but I was told Englishmen loved liberty, and that Englishmen had said 'We shall no longer stand these things; we shall change them.' Then the idea came into my head: Why cannot we do the thing in China? We must imitate the same thing. We must change the Government first before we can start anything. Without good Government a people can do nothing, and in China we have no government, and were miserable for many centuries.

Immediately after I graduated I saw it was necessary to give up my profession of healing men and take up my part

to cure the country. That is the answer to the question, 'where did I get my revolutionary ideas from?' It was entirely in Hongkong. But, of course, after I became a revolutionist, people said all kinds of things about me. People do not understand that a Chinese revolutionist is only a moderate European politician. We are not fighting for extremes; we are fighting for moderate government, for good government. After many years of application and organization I succeeded in removing the Manchu Dynasty and in establishing a Republic in its place. This Republic has lasted twelve years, and it means to stay—it will be everlasting. Of course, during the last twelve years there have been many troubles; people suffered a great deal more than before, and the people of China blame the revolutionists and say they would rather have the old Monarchy. The Republic means making a master of everyone, making over 400 million people to be masters of the whole.

People in China do not realize their new position; many of them take no interest in the change because they suffer. It is like pulling down an old building and putting up a new one. We have pulled down the Manchu Monarchy, but we have had no time in twelve years to build up a big Republic. So at this juncture the old house is gone and the new one is not yet finished, so rain and storm come in and all must suffer. This suffering is merely the price of human happiness. Although the great majority do not realize the change, the intellectual class all support the new Republic, and we have many friends outside China, many sympathizers as well as opponents and critics. Our opponents say China is not ripe for a Republic and that it is better to restore the Monarchy. Twice during the past twelve years attempts have been made to restore the Monarchy—once by Yuan Shih-kai, and once by the Manchu Emperor. But both attempts have failed. Twice have we been disturbed in building the Republic and even some friends of China have lost hope.

We have not succeeded very well with the Republican form of government yet because the movement is only in the transition stage. If you look for permanent peace in China you must first get the task of change accomplished and finish the structure of the new house. The elements that have disturbed the revolutionists have been many. Firstly, there were the Manchus, making a strong fight to exterminate the new ideas; secondly, there was the Mandarin class seeking to obstruct; and then there were the Tutchuns and the military caste. It is only when such obstacles are gone that China will have a permanent good government, and as soon as we get good government the Chinese people will be peaceful and contented. That can be proved by Hongkong and the Straits Settlements, for there are over one million Chinese in the South and about six hundred thousand here, and whatever they might have been before they went to such

places, they are now peaceful and good citizens. The Chinese people are easily governed and with good government they will be content.

My fellow students, you and I have studied in this English Colony, and in an English University, and we must learn by English examples. We must carry this English example of good government to every part of China."

The reader will be enlightened as to the extent to which Dr. Sun followed the "English example."

Dr. Sun reached Canton, where he had a hearty welcome, on February 21. But his position from the outset was far from secure. Fighting was not over. General Chen Chiung-ming, who still held Waichow, seventy miles distant, continued to gain temporary successes, with the result that Canton was periodically in a state of panic, and business was paralysed. The Kwangsi militarist, General Shen Hung-ying, demanded to be appointed Inspector General of the Kwangtung and Kwangsi Armies. Funds were immediately demanded to meet the pay of the troops. Gambling and opium were openly reintroduced to raise money for the soldiery.

At a large gathering to which journalists were invited, on March 19, Dr. Sun reiterated that the most urgent problem was that of disbandment. He hoped to finance this by means of domestic loans. In the meantime the gambling revenues were essential to replenish military funds. An appeal was made to Overseas Chinese for funds, and it was reported on April 1, that they were willing to subscribe a loan of six million dollars provided they were satisfied that Dr. Sun had full control of finances and of military affairs.

From the time he returned to Canton Dr. Sun was really dependent upon Yunnanese mercenaries. Some Kwangsi units professed loyalty to him, but others took sides with General Chen Chiung-ming, and there was a fight between the Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops at the end of April. The latter were repelled, and Shekcheng Arsenal, which they held, was retaken. Correspondents in Canton about this time began to refer frequently to the part played by the Merchant Volunteers in maintaining order within the City.

Soon after his arrival Dr. Sun sent one of his adherents, General Chiang Kai-shek, to Moscow, to study the situation there. He remained in Russia for about six months, and apparently gave a glowing account of conditions in that country on his return.

The financing of military operations against General Chen Chiung-ming presented difficulties from the outset. The Yunnanese troops enjoyed the proceeds of the gambling monopoly, supplemented by an opium monopoly in May. In that month Dr. Sun made an attempt to seize the Salt Revenues, which provoked a warning from the Foreign Governments interested in the Reorganization Loan. He also authorized the sale of public properties, temples, etc., to raise the wind.

When President Li Yuan-hung was driven out of office at Peking, by the Christian General, in June, 1923, Dr. Sun published a manifesto urging the Powers to withdraw recognition from the Peking Government.

He followed this up, despite his assurances earlier in the year that he would endeavour to avert further bloodshed, by announcing, in October, that a Northern Punitive Expedition was being formed to expel President Tsao Kun—who had bribed Parliament to elect him—from office.

Eight times the capture of Waichow by Dr. Sun's forces was reported, and proved to be false. Dr. Sun spent much of his time with the Army that was besieging this centre, while matters went from bad to worse in Canton and the neighbourhood. The attitude of the Yunnanese became more and more truculent. They not only established tax offices all round Canton, but ousted the Magistrates of Heungshan and Shuntak, and it was necessary to send Cantonese units to reinstate them. Their financial demands and those of other military units daily became more exorbitant. Canton had to be bled white to meet them, and the most unscrupulous methods of raising funds were adopted. A Poll Tax of \$1 per person was imposed upon all men who wished to avoid military conscription. A so-called land-inquisition was inaugurated, which will be described later. In October the fire-cracker shops and restaurants struck as a protest against war taxes; in November the Pawnshops went on strike in protest against forced loans. Thrice during the year 1923 landlords were called upon to contribute a month's rent towards Dr. Sun's War Chest. A foreign visitor to Canton thus described the situation :—

“Not in recent times had such a debacle of maladministration been witnessed in China as has been sweeping Canton

during the past six months. . . I have just ordered my branch to cease operations because taxation, piracy, robbery and government seizures have destroyed the very foundations of credit. . . The foreigners are afraid of budging more than ten miles out of the City, except in the armed boats running to Hongkong and Macao."

Referring to the "Land Inquisition," he stated that :—

"This Inquisition simply means that officials now in the saddle in Canton have sent out an order that all property-owners must bring forth their Title Deeds, and if there be any Titles not dating back to the Ming Dynasty (ended 300 years ago) the property is seized by the 'Government' and sold to the highest bidders. . . Law and order have not only ceased at the City limits, but are only extant in the City within those districts policed by the Canton Volunteer Corps, an organization of shop men and responsible citizens numbering 7,000 and all fully armed. This organization is openly opposed not only to the present Government, but to all military buccaneers."

At the end of October the Chinese Chamber of Commerce sent a deputation to Dr. Sun to protest against : the indiscriminate confiscation of private property, which had led to the eviction of thousands of families from their rightful homes ; the impressing of persons into military service, regardless of their dependents ; the reopening of gambling houses, and the revival of the opium traffic ; the commandeering of private launches ; and excessive taxation.

Dr. Sun was not encouraging. He stated that he required six million dollars for the repatriation of the Yunnanese troops !

He had reinstated his son as Mayor when he returned to Canton, and he shared his father's unpopularity, as it fell to his lot to comb Canton for money. An attempt to assassinate him was made in the latter part of 1923.

In December Dr. Sun announced his intention of seizing the Customs Revenues at Canton, maintaining that he was entitled to dispose of them as head of the Southern 'Government.' Four years previously the Peking Government had agreed to allow Canton to retain 13.7 per cent. of the Customs surplus. But when Dr. Wu Ting-fang fled to Shanghai in the Spring of 1920 and claimed that the Canton share ought to be remitted to him there (and other claimants appeared in the field) this arrangement was cancelled. The American Government also let it be known that it disapproved of partitioning the Customs surplus among the Provinces. So when, in December, 1923, Dr. Sun announced his intention of assuming control of the Canton Customs, the Treaty Powers were unanimous in resisting his pretensions, maintaining that the Customs revenues constituted security not only for the Boxer Indemnity, but for several previous Government loans, and that if one port were permitted to appropriate Customs revenues others would follow its bad example, and the Service would be disintegrated. Dr. Sun cabled to the British Labour Party to protest, and when he continued to bluster and threaten an international naval force assembled off Canton to protect the Customs. Protests against any interference with the integrity of the Customs poured into Peking from Chinese mercantile organizations throughout the country, and eventually Dr. Sun deemed discretion to the better part of valour, and abandoned the attempt to seize the local Customs revenues.

It will be remembered that in January, 1923, in a joint statement issued by Dr. Sun and M. Joffe, the Soviet Envoy had informed the former that he could count on the support of Russia in his efforts to achieve national unification and full national independence. On October 6 Michael Borodin arrived in Canton, sponsored by the Moscow Government and the new Soviet Envoy, M. Karahan. From that time onward, until his expulsion from China in July, 1927, he acted as Adviser to the Kuomintang, with results that will appear in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER XIV.

BORODIN TAKES CHARGE

MICHAEL Borodin, who had previously been engaged in revolutionary activities in America, Mexico and Turkey, and had been expelled from Great Britain as an undesirable alien, thus describes his reception in Canton :—

"I arrived at Canton on October 6 (1923). . . Sun Yat-sen welcomed me very warmly, made me sit with him, and looked at me fixedly for several seconds. I conveyed to him the greetings of Moscow, and of the Political Representative, Comrade Karahan, adding that the latter looks forward to an interview with him on the first favourable occasion. Then I shortly explained to him the aim of my coming to Canton, and asked him several questions about the situation in the country and particularly in Kwangtung. (After explaining Dr. Sun's views regarding the use of Mongolia as a base, the report continues): For the present he finds it necessary to hold Kwangtung, and therefore his Army must be increased and strengthened. To do this he needs help, which, he thinks, may be extended to him through Vladivostock. The direct steamer route from Vladivostock to Canton, not calling at Hongkong, may be used to this effect. But the establishment of such direct communication between Vladivostock and Canton must be in some way explained and this could easily be done, because Canton needs timber, fish, beans, etc., which could be imported in exchange for local products. This line would at once create what he most needs, viz., a direct connection with Russia (the U.S.S.R.). Military supplies which are indispensable, and which, owing to the blockade, cannot now be received, could be brought from Vladivostock."

Moscow was ready to give Dr. Sun the material which he required, but only on conditions. The chief of these was the reorganization of the Kuomintang under Russian supervision. Borodin lost much time in attempting to enforce this condition.

At a meeting held five days after his arrival, he explained his plan :—

“The plan provides for the immediate organization of a provisional national committee consisting of 21 members, into which the most prominent members of the Kuomintang, communists, members of the association of socialistic youth and of workmen's unions may enter, under the chairmanship of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. An executive and administrative committee of 9 persons, similarly composed, shall proceed to the organization of provincial committees and sub-committees of the Kuomintang. Wherever possible national clubs of local organizations, (would be established) the leading part in which would be for the time being in the hands of the Kuomintang, the influence of the Communists depending on their activity.”

About this time Dr. Sun's plight was a precarious one. It was generally expected that a few weeks, at most, would see him once more a refugee from Canton—if indeed, he was lucky enough to escape his enemies on this occasion. He was therefore willing to agree to almost anything that Borodin proposed if, thereby, he could make certain of Soviet aid. On October 13 Borodin was able to report that “most probably Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other prominent members of the Kuomintang would consent to the reorganization of the Party approximately as outlined in his plan.” The Provisional Committee was established on October 26 and held its first meeting on the 28th. Borodin while outwardly pretending that it was only the reorganization of the Party at which he was aiming, frankly admitted to his fellow communists that “in the Press I spoke of the Kuomintang, but to us it means that I was speaking of the increase, in the end, of the influence of the Communist Party.” Dr. Sun was prevailed upon to convene a Party Congress in January, 1924, to decide upon a new Party

Constitution and adopt a new Party programme. He invited several of the old Party members, including Wang Ching-wei, who had not been consulted regarding the Soviet orientation, to attend. Delegates to the number of 199 were present, supposedly representing all the Provinces and Dependencies of China, though most of them had been selected by Dr. Sun, when the Congress assembled. Although tremendous opposition developed in some quarters to Dr. Sun's reorganization plans, and his pro-Russian policy, he succeeded in imposing his will on the Congress. The surrender to Moscow was complete, with one exception: for the moment the Party refused to identify itself with class-warfare, and the confiscation of private property. The Three Principles (Triple Demism) of Dr. Sun were adopted as the Party Programme, and he was nominated President for life, with the power to veto the decisions of the Executive Committee. The most far-reaching of the Congress's decisions however, was its endorsement of the pro-Russian policy, and the admission of communists to membership of the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun tried to gild the pill by pretending that Russia had no intention of forcing Soviet institutions upon, or spreading communist propaganda in China, and that communist members would immediately be expelled if they did not conform to this understanding. Several prominent members of the Party resigned when the decision to admit Communists was reached; others though opposed thereto, did not for the moment dare to break away.

From this time onward Dr. Sun veered to the left. He, who had for decades relied upon the financial and moral support of the merchant classes in China and over-seas, now gave every encouragement to radical labour and peasants' organizations. The communist elements in the Party exploited his support of these elements to foment class-warfare. Borodin endorsed the organization and arming of the working classes, the confiscation of land from the landlords, and class warfare against the bourgeoisie.

Soon after he arrived in Canton, and presumably on his advice, the Whampoa Military Academy was established. In an official report to Moscow it was stated that :

"The first step in the reorganization of the Army was the creation of the Kuomintang Military School (Whampoa) as Chief of which General Chiang Kai-shek, a faithful friend of Dr. Sun, was appointed. His task was to supply the Army with junior officers of political understanding. . . . This school was organized at the beginning of the year 1924 at our proposal and was, at the beginning kept up by our funds. In October, 1924, the school had about 1,000 students."

The maintenance of this school cost Moscow a lot of money, for the Soviet Government in March, 1925, began to get rather impatient regarding its outlay for Whampoa. "Galens," said a communication to the Military Attache at Peking,

"has been given 450,000 roubles for the formation of new units and 100,000 roubles for the upkeep of the school at Whampoa for two months. The new Divisions, after their formation is completed, must be supported with local funds. For the further subsidizing of Whampoa a definite estimate must be submitted. (Galens, *alias* Bluecher, has been appointed Dr. Sun's Military Adviser)."

Arms and munitions were supplied to Canton from Russia in large quantities. Scores of Soviet

agents—military instructors and political agitators followed in the wake of Borodin, whose influence steadily increased throughout 1924. Dr. Sun became a complete tool in his hands. In his reports to Moscow he made no secret of his contempt for the "President" and his famous "Principles."

Among the documents seized during the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking in April, 1927, was found a letter from Borodin to Moscow, in which he gave the following description of Sun Yat-sen:—

"Sun is very backward. He judges very badly in political matters. He considers everything from a purely objective point of view and often reasons in a simple way like a man on the street. When he hears that somewhere, in some country, some friend of his has some connection with his Government, he puts in him all his hopes, plans, etc. The Chinese politicians, too, are judged by him from the standpoint of his personal sympathy or antipathy, without considering the motives which influence their attitude towards him. This purely subjective way of judging other people has in the end become dogma with him. As we would say in Europe, he considers himself the hero and the others the mob, whereas in China he is simply an enlightened little satrap. In one of our last conversations he compared himself to Confucius and expressed the wish that his followers should cling to him with the same loyalty as that with which those of Confucius followed their master."

In another despatch to Moscow dealing with Sun's plans for enforcing his decrees relating to landownership, Borodin scornfully derided Sun as a self-loving egoist, exceedingly proud of having invented his famous five principles, of which three belong to Montesquieu, and the other two to former Chinese politicians, and described him as being incapable of any progressive and reasonable work.

It was inevitable that ever-increasing exactions from the merchants of Canton to replenish Dr. Sun's war chest, on the one hand, and the fomenting of class warfare on the other, should produce an explosion. How it came will be told in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER XV

CANTON IN 1924

It would be no exaggeration to describe Canton, throughout 1924, as an inferno. Practically every news-despatch reported additional forms of oppression—new taxes on commodities, on rickshaw coolies, on rents, etc., forced loans, new issues of unsecured paper currency, debasement of subsidiary coinage, and so on. Piracy and armed robbery were rampant. Dr. Sun's Yunnan and Hunan mercenaries systematically preyed upon the city, murdering police and civilians who did not immediately comply with their orders. They fought among themselves also, especially when some new form of extortion was in issue. They occupied the railways and collected increased fares and goods charges for their own benefit. In spite of all these levies and miseries, Dr. Sun's plans of conquest made little progress. In March a reliable report credited him and his mercenaries with control of only 32 out of the 96 districts that constitute the Province of Kwangtung. The sum raised by various forms of taxation and extortion was amazing. It was estimated that the gambling revenues alone were being collected at the rate of \$34,000,000 per annum. The Cantonese—other than the Labour Unions who were being encouraged to put forward more and more extreme demands—were weary of Dr. Sun and his antics. The situa-

tion was not unfairly described in a letter, apparently from a Chinese correspondent, dated March 24, to a Shanghai journal:—

“He (Dr. Sun) is the sole and direct cause of instigating the weary warfare that continues to be waged with its terrible toll of life and infliction of misery and privation on thousands of his countrymen. It is he who is responsible for the revival of the licensed gambling houses and the direct encouragement of this awful curse. Not content with this shameful expedient for raising money he has authorized and upholds the most barefaced system of robbery in the form of illegal taxation, in twenty different ways, the theft of public and private lands and property, the most outrageous press-gang system, and, in short, the adoption of methods for extorting money and recruits for his armies from the whole territory under his evil control that rank far above those adopted by the most ruthless of any of China's Warlords.”

On May 13 a rumour was in circulation in Canton that Dr. Sun was dead. He was reported to have succumbed to brain fever. Unconvincing denials of his death were characteristically given out by Mr. Eugene Chen, who stated that “Dr. Sun doesn't see why he should prove to enemies and fools that he is not dead.” The local correspondent of Reuter's Agency, Mr. Hin Wong, attempted to secure an interview to verify the report that he was alive. He was promptly arrested and sentenced to ten year's imprisonment on a false charge of fabricating rumours!

From a reliable source, a few months later, the writer obtained what appears to be a plausible explanation of this incident. Dr. Sun was becoming increasingly intolerant and suspicious of all around him. He would suddenly, and with no evidence denounce one of his entourage as a traitor and order his punishment or execution. On n he picked out a particularly prominent

adherent and denounced him as a traitor, and when others present remonstrated he became frenzied with rage, and collapsed in a fit on the floor. His companions fled from the apartment reporting that he was dead. As a matter of fact he had an apoplectic fit, and for some days it was impossible to produce him to independent witnesses to prove that he still lived.

His death at this time would have occasioned little regret. The *China Weekly Review*, commenting on the report of his demise under the heading "Why Dr. Sun Yat-sen Fails," remarked:—

"Preaching sometimes democracy, sometimes Bolshevism, he practises tyranny. . . . Perhaps Dr. Sun really believes that he is the embodiment of the democratic spirit. The fact is that he is quite the reverse. He is a glutton for the enforcing of his ideas, and his ideas alone. To this end he not only martyrizs millions of Chinese, but himself, as well. His own sacrifices tend to blind one to his selfish obsession and his colossal conceit."

Mr. Charles Dailey, Correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, who was in Canton when the rumours of Dr. Sun's death were in circulation, in an article headed "Cantonese Wearying of Sun Yat-sen," wrote:—

"Returning to Canton after an interval of almost two years and a half, I found the most progressive city in China in the hands of alien mercenaries, who were bent on getting out of it only what they could for their own gain; leeches, living on the people, and whom the people would eject if only they had the power. (Then, referring to the reports of Dr. Sun's death, he went on): Many of the Cantonese hoped the rumour was true, for they are sick and tired of Sun Yat-sen, who has been battling since 1911 and has got nowhere. He holds less territory to-day than for many months, and, in spite of the fact that his flag flies all over Canton, there is one revolt after another against his edicts of taxation, which are eating up the profits of the merchants and others,

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bringing business to a very low ebb. The City is in control of the Labour Unions, which Dr. Sun has fostered almost to the point of Bolshevism, if not to the verge of Communism."

The merchant class throughout the Province was forced to the conclusion that its only means of survival would be the reorganization of the Merchant Volunteer Corps. This organization had existed for many years, throughout the Province. It was non-political in character, the functions of the Volunteers being restricted to the maintenance of local order, and protection from irresponsible militarism. In May, delegates from upwards of 100 towns and districts in Kwangtung assembled and decided to organize the Volunteers into one central body, under the command of Mr. Chan Lim-pak—(Ch'eng Lien-po), Compradore of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank. In a manifesto issued after the conference they asserted that

"We do not intend to allow the port of Canton or any other city within our Province, to degenerate, or to let our citizens here or anywhere else starve themselves and their families . . . This body, jointly or severally, will supplement the regular police forces of the Province for the preservation of peace and order . . . The new Merchants' Volunteer Corps of Kwangtung has no other outside object or purpose than to be a non-partisan military unit for local self-defence against lawlessness, to preserve peace and order, and to suppress piracy and brigandage . . . We are to-day inaugurating a movement for the salvation of China through direct action on the part of the Chinese themselves, instead of through the action of the governing few. We organize to make democracy safe."

That some drastic action was necessary to check the reign of lawlessness in Canton and the vicinity may be judged from an outrage that took place on Shameen (the Foreign Concession at Canton) on June 19. M. Merlin, the Governor General of French Indo-

China was paying a friendly visit to the City, and that evening was attending a dinner given in his honour by the French community at the Victoria Hotel. The party had only been seated for a few minutes when a portmanteau was thrown through one of the windows, and exploded with terrific force, killing five and wounding many other guests. The assassin, an Annamese communist, fled from the spot, jumped into the river, and was drowned. There is some ground for believing that the local Chinese authorities had foreknowledge of the attempt to murder the Governor-General; at any rate one British resident is said to have received a warning not to dine at the hotel that night. A monument with an inscription glorifying the deed of the assassin was erected, as near as possible to the scene of the outrage, the Canton Government pretending, when the French Consul protested, that it could not interfere with a funeral monument privately erected.

The Merchant Volunteers after their reorganization contracted for a large supply of arms from Europe. These arrived at Canton, on the Norwegian steamer *Hav* on August 10. A permit to land them was obtained several days before the vessel's arrival from the Military Department of the Generalissimo, but as soon as the steamer entered port Dr. Sun revoked this permit, and ordered the seizure of the arms. The merchants proclaimed a strike. Dr. Sun thereupon threatened to bombard Canton from the river. On August 29 the British Consul-General addressed the following warning to him:

110 THE STRANGE APOTHEOSIS OF SUN YAT-SEN

H.B.M.'s CONSULATE GENERAL,
CANTON.

Sir,

Having heard yesterday from several sources that the Chinese Authorities contemplated opening fire on the City of Canton, particularly the suburb of Saikuan, the Senior Consul, yesterday, made a verbal protest to the Civil Governor, as under:—

(1) "That in the event of foreign persons or property being injured they would hold the Government responsible.

(2) That they protested against the barbarity of firing on a defenceless City.

(3) That in the event of injury to foreign persons or property they would take whatever measures they deemed desirable."

I am now in receipt of a message from the Senior British Naval Officer stating that he has received orders from the Commodore in Hongkong that, in the event of the Chinese Authorities firing upon the City immediate action is to be taken against them by all British Naval Forces available.

I am, etc.,

BERTRAM GILES,
H.B.M. CONSUL GENERAL.

Dr. Sun was furious at the suggestion that "my Government" was not free to bombard Canton at his own sweet will, regardless of foreign—not to mention Chinese—lives and property. He issued a Manifesto—in Eugene Chen's best style—denouncing British Imperialism, and claiming that the merchants were in open rebellion against him and he was entitled to use force to suppress them. To Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who at that time was Prime Minister, he cabled:—

"The Canton Compradore of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation has been organizing a body of so-called Chinese Fascisti, whose aim has now been revealed to be the overthrow of my Government. This was to be carried out when the rebels could be effectively armed with arms and ammunition imported from Europe on the steamer *Hav*. The *Hav* arrived in Canton on August 10, and was immediately seized by my Government. Since then a state of rebellion has existed in Canton in the guise of a strike engineered by

the rebels and other counter-revolutionaries. At a moment when I was deciding on necessary measures to cope with the rebellion, the British Consul-General sent a letter to my Government containing the following: (here he quoted the final paragraph in Mr. Bertram Giles' letter). In view of the diplomatic and financial support which successive British Governments have consistently given to the Counter-Revolution in China and of the fact that my Government is to-day the sole centre of resistance to that Counter-Revolution, I am forced to conclude that the real object of this ultimatum is the destruction of my Government. I have to protest in the strongest terms against this latest act of Imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of China.

SUN YAT-SEN."

It is very interesting by way of contrast to read the cable despatched to the Diplomatic Body in Peking by the Speaker of the Kwangtung Provincial Assembly:—

"Dean, Diplomatic Corps, Peking.—Kindly request colleagues convey to their respective Governments following:

The people of Kwangtung deeply appreciate the action of the Consular Corps in Canton warning Dr. Sun Yat-sen against his intended bombardment of their defenceless Capital. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang Government irregularly constituted has never been recognized at Home or abroad. Its recent work of devastation and oppression were akin to that of pirates and bandits in South China, against whom the British and naval authorities, especially at the request of Consular representatives of the Governments the interests of which were being affected, have been justified in taking all necessary steps. CHUNG SHING, Speaker, Kwangtung Provincial Assembly."

On August 26, a Corps of Labour Volunteers—later known as the Red Army—was formally inaugurated, and it was understood to be Dr. Sun's intention to furnish them with the arms imported, and paid for by the Merchant Volunteers!

A Commission of Inquiry was set up in Canton under Dr. Sun's authority, which, on September 6 recommended the release of the *Hav*, but he obstinately refused to part with the arms unless

the Merchants made further enormous contributions towards his military expenses. Dr. Sun left for the "front" on September 13, entrusting further negotiations with the merchants to his subordinates. What happened subsequently is thus described in the *China Year Book* for 1925, in a Chapter which the Editor attributes to Dr. V. K. Ting :—

"In the beginning of October when Sun Yat-sen went to Shaokuan to direct in person his Punitive Expedition against the North, General Li Fu-ling (Li Fuk-lam) arranged for the release of the arms under certain conditions. This was carried out on the 10th of October. Just as the Merchant Volunteers were unloading the arms, the Labour Unions and the Students' Corps, Bolshevik organizations instituted by Sun Yat-sen, marched past on parade. Some misunderstanding arose between these and the Merchant Volunteers, and a fight resulted in which many of the labourers were killed and wounded. Moreover the Merchant Volunteers found that only one half of the arms and one-tenth of the ammunition were delivered to them by Li Fu-ling, and therefore refused to call off the strike, as agreed. Each side then accused the other of bad faith. On the 12th of October Sun Yat-sen sent back from Shaokuan his bodyguard under General Wu Tieh-ch'eng. On the 14th the Canton Government issued proclamations to reorganize the Volunteers. The latter then concentrated their forces at Saikuan preparing for self-defence. In the afternoon of October 14 the Combined forces of Wu Tieh-ch'eng, Li Fu-ling and Hsu Chung-tze attacked the Merchant Volunteers, using heavy artillery in the most thickly populated part of the City. Fire soon broke out and more than 400 houses were burnt down. The Volunteers, less than 2,000 strong, were defeated and dispersed, and many non-combatants were killed and wounded. The mercenaries also did a considerable amount of looting. When the fight was over the Volunteers throughout the Province were disarmed, the Merchant Volunteers in the City were each fined 100 dollars, and the shops were forced to open their doors. The struggle between the propertied citizens and the revolutionary Government ended in the complete failure of the former."

But it made Dr. Sun's continued residence in Canton impossible. Cantonese abroad, in other

parts of China, and in the City itself combined to denounce this act of savagery. The Cantonese Associations in Shanghai, for example, circulated the following telegram throughout the country:—

"By order of Sun Wen, the troops in Canton attacked the Merchants' Volunteer Corps, burning and sacking the market, massacring the people, and reducing the neighbourhood of Saikuan to cinders; the streets (were) covered with the wounded and killed and flooded by blood. Such an atrocious calamity has never been equalled in Chinese and foreign history, both ancient and modern. We are too much affected to shed tears for the fate of our native town. A resolution was unanimously passed to fix the 15th day of October as a day to remember Sun Wen's Burning and Wiping Out our Market and Tyrannously killing the Kwangtung People; let our 30,000,000 brethren never forget this event. As you must be as solicitous of our native town as ourselves, and as indignant of such an occurrence, we expect you to uphold upright principles and save ourselves from danger and destruction, to the blessing of the whole Province of Kwangtung."

The fire started by Dr. Sun's artillery raged for two days and two nights. A Chinese correspondent in Canton estimated the casualties among the civilian population at between 4,800 and 6,400, and the number of shops destroyed at 1,800 to 2,200.

Shortly after the Saikuan massacre there were sensational developments in North China, where Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin were once more at war. The former was more than holding his own when the Christian General—(Feng Yu-hsiang)—whose troops were holding a vital portion of his front, withdrew his army to Peking, seized the Capital, and evicted the Manchu Emperor from the Palace. Wu Pei-fu's Army crumbled to pieces and he had to flee. A triumvirate, consisting of Tuan Chi-jui, Chang Tso-lin and Fang Yu-hsing then assumed charge of the administration in North China, and

despatched an invitation to Dr. Sun to come North to confer with them. He jumped at this pretext for leaving the scene of his latest infamy, and sailed for Shanghai on November 13. When his impending departure was announced the Cantonese commercial organizations in that city and throughout the Province telegraphed to Peking repudiating him as their spokesman. He reached Shanghai on the *Shinyo Maru* on November 17, and immediately took up his residence in Rue Moliere in the French Concession.

CHAPTER XVI

NORTHWARD BOUND

THERE were no enthusiastic demonstrations at Canton over the departure for the North of what Mr. Eugene Chen described as "the foremost living figure in Asia." He left behind him the charred ruins of the business quarter of the city he had misgoverned, and thousands of mourners of the victims of his ruthlessness. A Hongkong correspondent expressed the belief that if he made a public landing in that Colony he would be torn limb from limb.

When it was known that he was heading for Shanghai the foreign Press in that Port showed no enthusiasm. The *North China Daily News* which, after detailed reports of the Saikuan massacre commented that "as for Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself, the only conclusion that can be come to is that he is mad, that he has come to regard himself as a sort of divinity against whose pleasure the slightest resistance is a sin," on learning of his impending departure for the North remarked that "Dr. Sun is an undesirable person politically, whose residence in Shanghai now would destroy its neutrality and endanger the peace of its surroundings. For practically identical reasons 'Little' Hsu was twice removed. It is now time to bar the door against Dr. Sun."

(The Shanghai Consular Body had refused to allow General Hsu Shu-tseng, the Anfu Militarist, to reside in the foreign areas, on the ground that his presence would endanger local peace and order, a few weeks previously).

Dr. Sun broke into one of his characteristic tempers when the Shanghai paper's comments were brought to his attention. The Chinese, he said, were the hosts and foreigners were guests.

"This being the case I, as a citizen of China, have every right to reside in my territory, whereas foreign residents in this country as our guests have no authority to oppose the presence in any part of China of their hosts. If, therefore, foreigners should dare to oppose or obstruct my presence in Shanghai, I, with the support of my countrymen, am determined to take some drastic steps to deal with them. Be it remembered that the Chinese people are not to be trifled with so long as we dwell in our own territories."

And so he took up his residence for a few days in the French Concession, where French and Annamite Police (Chinese police having no jurisdiction) assumed the responsibility of protecting him!

In a manifesto he outlined an elaborate programme for the projected conference in Peking, which was doomed never to take place because Marshal Chang Tso-lin fled suddenly from the Capital on being apprized of a conspiracy for another *coup*—of which he was the intended victim—by the "Christian" General.

On the eve of his departure from Shanghai for Kobe on November 22, Dr. Sun stated that he was proceeding via Japan because no suitable steamer was available for a direct passage to Tientsin (only British vessels being available). He had, he said, "given up his work in the South-west."

He attributed the "real evils of China for the past decade" to the actions of "some Foreign Powers" rather than the Chinese people, "in view of the fact that these Powers have always squeezed China, making her a 'happy hunting ground' by causing disturbances in the country all the time." He was continuing to take an active part in politics because "China to-day badly needs a man who is capable of creating and unifying a strong public opinion, and I think I am just the man she wants."

At Moji he told an interviewer that "China is ruined, and it is England that has done it. . . . England holds herself under no manner of obligation towards China, in spite of the fact that she enjoys all kinds of rights and privileges in that country. England is sapping the best of it by allowing America and thirteen other countries to share in these rights." At Kobe he told Japanese journalists that "Britishers are the worst lot imaginable," and "a curse to China."

In the course of a long interview with a representative of the *Japan Chronicle* he stated that he was willing to allow Japan's position in Manchuria to stand over for the present while he concentrated on the abolition of extraterritoriality and the restoration of Customs autonomy. He charged the Powers with interfering in China's domestic affairs, first by supporting Yuan Shih-kai and later by assisting Wu Pei-fu. "Since the Russian action (presumably the 1924 Treaty) we have come to doubt England." He declared that China might unite Russia and India against the Western Powers if the present "oppression" continued. The

Nishihara loans, which he had formerly bitterly denounced, he dismissed with the naive statement that "it would be well worth Yen 150,000,000 if Japan could be induced to support China in her demand for independence." He was obviously embarrassed when asked why, if he had the right to seize the Canton Customs revenues a similar right ought not to be conceded to Wu Pei-fu in the Northern Ports. As regards the massacre of the Merchant Volunteers, that, he remarked, was similar to the Sidney Street affair in London "in which some robbers resisted the Police by force and the military had been called out under the direction of Mr. Winston Churchill."

Dr. Sun landed at Tientsin on December 4, being welcomed by a motley crowd of students and labourers. He took up his residence in the Japanese Concession (it is noteworthy how fond he was of placing himself under foreign protection outside of Canton) and that afternoon, in company with Marshal Chang Tso-lin, whom he now met for the first time, paid a call on ex-President Li Yuan-hung. The next day it was announced that he was ill, and confined to his room. Treated by a German Doctor who diagnosed his malady as an abscess on the liver, he was constantly surrounded by a handful of faithful adherents, who did not hesitate to fake the Medical Attendant's bulletins. Stormy interviews were reported to have taken place at his residence, with emissaries from Peking, who ventured to dissent from some of his views. Nor were they alone in criticizing his policy. On December 7, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, in an interview with a

representative of the Eastern News Agency at Peking remarked that "What Dr. Sun Yat-sen lays stress upon is a rough argument leading to idealism. It must be pointed out that China differs fundamentally from Soviet Russia, taken from the view-point of the two countries. We, who are endeavouring to enhance the national credit of China externally are unable blindly to follow the policy voiced by Dr. Sun Yat-sen that all unequal Treaties entered into by the Powers should be abrogated . . . I am of the opinion that Dr. Sun, in reality, has no intention to put into force what he has done in Canton, for he ought to know distinctly the difference between Peking and Canton. It may be observed that Dr. Sun will be at his wits' end how to make a reply if impeached by the Kwangtung provincials in Peking about what he has done in the past."

Dr. Sun went up to Peking by rail on December 31, 1924. He was still a very sick man, and after a brief stay in a hotel was taken to the Rockefeller Hospital which for some weeks was his headquarters and plagued by the presence of his armed guards, who seriously interfered with the work of the staff. When it was clear that death was approaching the Kuomintang removed him from the Hospital to the residence of Dr. Wellington Koo, which had been "confiscated" and commandeered for the purpose.

Dr. Sun had been accompanied to Peking by about fifty of the "faithful" and a Northern newspaper thus described the position in the middle of January:

"If he could have reached Peking at once, while enthusiasm ran high, he counted that the support of Karahan's money and Feng Yu-hsiang's troops would do the rest. Unfortunately for him he ran into Chang Tso-lin, who had played with him as a help in opposing Wu Pei-fu, but who had no thought of yielding precedence to a man whom he had already paid liberally for his services. The appointment of Li Ching-lin as Military Commander of the Metropolitan Province of Chihli, and the placing of Chang Tso-lin's troops at Machang and along the railway line from Tientsin to Peking gave Sun Yat-sen such a sudden relapse that he has not yet been able to recover his normal health. At last he summoned sufficient strength to come to Peking with the faithful fifty odd persons who now form his bodyguard of advisers, assistants and directors. Since his arrival his only conspicuous caller has been Comrade Karahan (the Soviet Ambassador) who remained with him a longer time than necessary to enquire about his health. He has refused to see all other callers, including the Chief Executive, Tuan Chi-jui, who went to enquire when it would be convenient to pay a visit. At Tientsin he avoided all his old friends and supporters with the exception of those pledged and consecrated to his new doctrines of Bolshevism. Even Chang Chi did not see him. In Peking he is the 'Hidden One.' Such an earnest supporter in former days as General Yu Yu-jen of Shensi, who came specially to help him, has been kept from the august presence by his entourage. General Yu is not a Bolshevist, but neither are Hsieh Chih of Szechwan, Tsou Lu of Hunan, and Fen Tsu-yu of Canton, all of whom were right-hand men in the days of Sun Yat-sen the First.

In Peking, Sun Yat-sen, the Second, is under the control of his Director, Wei Yu, and his second-in-command, Wang Ching-wei. Many of his helpers throughout the city under the leadership of Miss Shih, are girls belonging to the Law School of the National University, the Girls' Higher Normal School, and the Salvation Army. They are used for the reason that they can frequently reach places which are not open to men. These girls, for instance, are the liaison officers between Sun Yat-sen's group and General Feng Yu-hsiang, whom they reach through his modern educated wife, formerly Miss Li, of the Y.W.C.A. Kuomintang political propaganda is being used as a smoke-screen for concealing the real object of ousting the present Government and/or any other Government which stands in the way of bringing about a condition in which Sun Yat-sen will become the Lenin of China, and his consecrated group of fifty followers, the Inner Council."

This Chapter may fittingly be closed by quotations from statements made about this time by two

prominent members of the Kuomintang who have dissociated themselves from Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

On December 12, 1924, in an address at the Fuh Tan University, Shanghai, Dr. Ma Soo, who had for many years been Dr. Sun's personal representative in the United States declared that

"Since his return to China he has become aware of the communistic propaganda which the Soviet has been and is spreading in this country, and as a result he felt it incumbent upon himself to warn the students of the dangers which lurk in the new and strange 'isms' of Moscow. The worst phase of Soviet propaganda in China is the use of Russian gold for the accomplishment of its purpose. He had positive proof of the use of Soviet money in the Chinese schools both among the students and teachers, and probably worse to relate, he also had proof of its being used to influence the Chinese Press. He knew of one newspaper in Central China which turned from yellow to pink, and from pink to red, within a few weeks, and the reason was that the editor had been brought under the influence of gold supplied from Moscow."

Early in January, 1925 Feng Tsu-yu, who had formerly been prominent in Kuomintang circles published a letter denouncing Dr. Sun's communistic affiliations. He explained that in February, 1924, he had been summoned to Dr. Sun's headquarters at Canton, with three of his friends, and charged in the presence of eighty Kuomintang delegates "with the grave crime of opposing the Communists." Dr. Sun had stated that opposition to Communism meant opposition to one of the cardinal planks of the Kuomintang and was therefore a defiance of Party discipline. "According to Russian law, this should be punishable with death, but because of my generous nature I do not wish to do that, and have only recommended to the Central Executive Committee your expulsion from the Party." This was subsequently decided upon at a meeting at which Borodin was present.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MAKING OF A CHINESE " LENIN "

DR. SUN YAT-SEN was removed from the hotel to the Peking Union Medical College Hospital on January 26, and that evening an exploratory operation was performed. A Bulletin issued over the signatures of Drs. Krieg, Heng Liu and A. S. Taylor stated that a malignant tumour was found, and that his condition was critical. He had, in fact, cancer of the liver, in an advanced stage. He remained in the Hospital for some weeks, and was then, as already mentioned, removed to the former residence of Dr. Wellington Koo, where he was entirely in the hands of the small clique which had accompanied him to, or met him, at, the Capital. He lay a-dying, and while he was dying his entourage conspired to capitalize his death. The writer of the article quoted in the last Chapter referred to the political propaganda which was employed by the Kuomintang with the object of " bringing about a condition in which Sun Yat-sen will become the Lenin of China." That in fact was what the inner circle now strove to achieve, and they seem to have infected Dr. Sun himself with the idea. Alive he could never attain the political stature (for good or for ill) of a Lenin; dead, he might by skilful stage-management be apotheosized into a Chinese counterpart of the Soviet leader. The technique employed in Moscow

was carefully studied. And when the moment came it was successfully applied.

When it became known that his illness was incurable, his solicitous adherents drafted three documents for his signature. The first was the now notorious "Testament" which is read out at all official gatherings at which the portrait of Dr. Sun is honoured. It was drafted, we are told, by Mr. Wang Ching-wei. Dr. Sun declined to sign it when it was first put before him, but appended his signature to it on the day before his death when, according to a footnote in *The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution*, he was "already half conscious." This will reads:

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the People's Revolution, whose aim is to win for China national liberty and international equality. From the gathered experience of these forty years I have come to the realization that the only way to attain this object is by awakening the masses of the people and by joining hands with those nations of the world that treat us as equals in our struggle for the common cause. The Revolution is as yet unfinished. I thus exhort the comrades in the Party to continue, until victory is attained, the fight for the realization of our goal, in accordance with the *Plans for National Reconstruction*, the *Programme of National Reconstruction*, the *Three Principles of the People*, and the *Manifesto of the First National Congress*. Especially my reasoned designs for the convening of the National People's Assembly, and for the abolition of the Unequal Treaties, should be fulfilled within the shortest possible time. This is my Last Will."

Dr. Sun's family Will, which left his books, clothing and house to his Wife, and stated that his children having grown up were well able to take care of themselves, was also drafted by Mr. Wang Ching-wei. His only son, Mr. Sun Fo, had been Mayor of Canton and was reported to be the possessor of a respectable fortune at this time.

The third document, the draft of which was said to have been prepared by Mr. Eugene Chen is not often heard of these days, but was significant. It was addressed to his "Russian Comrades," and read :

"PEKING, MARCH 11, 1925.

Dear Comrades,

While I lie here in a malady against which men are powerless, my thoughts are turned towards you and towards the future of my party and my Country.

You are the head of the union of free Republics—that heritage left to the oppressed peoples of the world by the immortal Lenin. With the aid of that heritage the victims of Imperialism will inevitably achieve emancipation from that international *regime* whose foundations have been rooted for ages in slavery, wars and injustice.

I leave behind me a Party which, as I always hoped, will be bound up with you in the historic work of the final liberation of China and other exploited countries from the Imperialist order. By the will of fate I must leave my work unfinished, and hand it over to those who, remaining true to the principles and teaching of the Party, will thereby be my true followers.

Therefore I charge the Kuomintang to continue the work of the revolutionary nationalist movement, so that China, reduced by the Imperialists to a position of a semi-colonial country, may become free.

With the object I have instructed the Party to be in constant contact with you. I firmly believe in the continuance of the support which you have hitherto accorded my country.

Taking leave of you, dear Comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will come when the U.S.S.R. will welcome a friend and ally in a mighty, free China, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world, both these allies will go forward to victory hand in hand.

With fraternal greetings,

SUN YAT-SEN."

The morning after he has signed these testaments, Dr. Sun died. A Bulletin, signed by Dr. Krieg and dated March 12, read :

Dr. Sun Yat-sen died peacefully at 9.30 this morning. Yesterday afternoon he issued final instructions respecting

several matters and informed his wife that he wished to be embalmed and placed in a casket similar to his friend Lenin, and be buried on Tiger Hill, Nanking."

As soon as his death was announced the Peking Government decreed a State Funeral. The Flags of all Government Offices, and, strange to say, of the Foreign Legations, were half-masted. And his body was removed to the Peking Union Medical College for the embalming. Moscow was requested by cable to send a glass casket similar to that used for Lenin.

An unseemly dispute as to the rites to be employed followed. Dr. Sun had professed Christianity on his deathbed and had, it is stated, asked to be buried with Christian rites. This was contrary to the wishes of the extremists among the Kuomintang, who were, in fact, fostering a virulent anti-Christian campaign. At first they placed guards over the corpse at the Peking Union Medical College, and refused to allow it to be removed to the Auditorium for the proposed Christian service. They were ultimately defeated by the employment of publicity by deceased's family. A Christian funeral service was held on March 19, after which the coffin was removed to the Central Park for the lying-in-state. This incident was not allowed to pass without a parting shot from Mr. Eugene Chen, who issued the following statement:—

"It is not seemly that the yet unburied body of Dr. Sun Yat-sen should be the subject of a dispute concerned with an alien religious rite, but historical veracity, as well as mere loyalty to his memory as a great leader of a great cause, call for an instant protest against the creation of any legend that he died more as a meek and penitent Christian than as the formidable leader of a revolutionary movement that is destined to restore to China her strength and her independence."

After the Moscow casket had arrived and the embalmed body had been placed therein, it was removed to a temporary resting place in the Western Hills to await the State Funeral at Nanking. This did not take place until June of 1929. As will be seen later, the Russian domination of the Kuomintang had by this time been overcome. Dr. Sun's widow, then in voluntary exile at Moscow, returned to China for the ceremony.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE "FORMIDABLE LEADER"

It may be doubted whether any well-known revolutionary leader of modern times died more thoroughly discredited at home and abroad than Dr. Sun Yat-sen ; or whether in any other part of the world, at any time in history, a man more unworthy has been canonized by millions of his fellow countrymen. He had completely alienated the sympathies of those who had been his most persistent and generous supporters—the overseas Chinese merchants — by his destructiveness and his ruthlessness. Most of the bourgeoisie in Canton were still mourning, at the time of his death, for relatives and friends who had been slaughtered by his "Reds" in the Saikuan massacre of October, 1924. During his short stay in the North he was treated with ill-concealed hostility and contempt by the militarists and politicians in power at the Capital. They ignored or openly denounced his advice and his policies, and shewed themselves too shrewd to become the victims of the conspiracy that he was hatching with the "Christian General" for another *coup*. Such adherents as he still retained were to be found chiefly among the student classes, and the Trade Unions, which owed their inception to the communists. It is safe to assert that had he not been compelled to take to his bed with a fatal illness, soon after reaching Tientsin,

Dr. Sun would either have been assassinated, or once more found it necessary to seek refuge abroad. After his death the process of "Leninization," inspired by the Soviet advisers to the Party, and carried out by the left-wing leaders, proceeded apace, transforming him from a discredited and execrated agitator into a legendary hero. The Chinese as a race are peculiarly susceptible to mass psychology. It was successfully exploited in this instance. Sun Yat-sen, who during the last years of his life was a querulous, intolerant, and swollen-headed autocrat, dead, was converted by skilful propaganda into a demigod. His lucubrations acquired practically scriptural authority. His political testament became a national Creed.

Before dealing, however, with the events that followed his death, an estimate of his character and attainments may be attempted. It is to his credit—though the same cannot be said for certain members of his family—that wealth, as such, never appealed to him. He collected and spent on wasteful and destructive efforts, enormous sums of money, but never enriched himself thereby. Some observers have credited him with a large amount of personal magnetism, which blinded many of his followers to his shortcomings. The latter were numerous. He was vain and boastful. He loved to strut about in uniform, surrounded by bodyguards, and to organize ceremonies of which he was the centre. He fancied himself infallible both as a political and a military leader. He was unscrupulous to the point of flagrant dishonesty. He, who during the last years of his life fulminated

so venomously against extraterritoriality and the Foreign Concessions, invariably betook himself to his residence in the French Concession at Shanghai when he had succeeded in making Canton too hot for him. There he resided under "Imperialist" police protection, and incidentally, continued to conspire against the recognized Government of China. Earlier in his career he went even further. Twice he falsely claimed American citizenship, and produced forged or perjured documents to support that claim. Once he did so in Siam, where, after twice undertaking—and violating his promise—to abstain from political agitation, the Government ordered his deportation. Americans at that time enjoyed extraterritorial rights in Siam. Dr. Sun claimed American citizenship to avoid deportation, but the American Government refused to consider such a claim on the part of one who was engaged in a conspiracy against a Government friendly to the United States.

On March 9, 1904, Sun Yat-sen had made a sworn deposition before a Notary Public at Hawaii that he was born at Waimanu, Ewa, Oahu, on the 24th of November, 1870, and that his father went back to China in 1874, and died there eight years later. On the strength of this a certificate of birth in the Islands was issued to him. Needless to say the deposition was entirely false. Sun was born in the Hsiang Shan region of Kwangtung in November, 1866, and his father never left China.

Posing to his countrymen as the arch-foe of China's domination by foreign "Imperialists" he sought on more than one occasion to sell out

out to the Japanese, and ended by consigning his party to the thralldom of the Moscow communists, a servitude far more dangerous and destructive than the so-called "unequal treaties." Canton was to all intents and purposes "Red" territory for some years after his death, and would have remained so had his last message to Moscow continued to be regarded as embodying a cardinal Kuomintang policy.

Knowing his fellow-countrymen's proneness to xenophobia—and knowing too the disastrous consequences of encouraging it, as revealed by the Boxer upheaval—he deliberately fostered it. As we shall see later, the *San Min Chu I*—the Bible of the Kuomintang—is calculated to instil into all Chinese readers who have not the discrimination to recognize its absurdities, an enduring hatred of foreigners.

He disclaimed belief in class-warfare, yet fomented it, even going to the length of arming the proletariat to slaughter the bourgeoisie.

The most charitable view to take of his actions during the last few years of his life is to assume that he was suffering from an acute form of megalomania. He would tolerate no advice, opposition or criticism. Anyone who did not unconditionally obey him was a "traitor." He expected his utterances, however extreme and puerile to be accepted as pontifical. His intolerance wore down and eventually ended, many old friendships. Loyalty to him, and retention of one's self-respect, became incompatible.

Morally, he became absolutely unprincipled. Opposed, so he declared, to opium-smoking and

gambling, he nevertheless exploited these vices to raise the funds for his mercenary armies. He sold local offices to the highest bidders. He debauched the currency, indulged in the wholesale confiscation of private property—movable and immovable—and allied himself with bandits and criminals.

Some contemporary opinions of his mischievous activities may appropriately be given here.

"Dr. Sun" wrote Mr. Hin Wong, an independent Chinese journalist at Canton

"will never be forgotten in Canton, however, as the Generalissimo who was responsible for the sale of public lands and the confiscation of private properties for the support of useless politicians and bandit troops, and the massacre of civilians opposing the introduction of exorbitant taxation, Bolshevism and the reign of terror."

"His great influence was never used with success for any useful purpose," commented the *N.C. Daily News*.

"The Mandate of the Chief Executive, extolling the virtue and wisdom of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" wrote Mr. A. M. Kotenev (*New Lamps for Old*) "and complaining that Heaven was so unmerciful as to deprive the country of the services of such a man, which overcame him with sorrow and grief, was an example of the specific Chinese official lie. . . . The hecatombs of October 15, 1924, in Canton should have been fresh in his memory. The fate which had then befallen thousands of innocent aged women, and children, might have been his and that of his Government had not heaven been so merciful as to deprive them of such a man as Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The expression of condolence and posthumous honours to the late Chinese revolutionist by the foreign diplomatic representatives and the foreign communities in China was even more startling."

"The whole career of the great Dr. Sun," wrote Owen Lattimore (in *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*)

"is a kind of quest of a philosopher's stone. Not only do analyses of political, social and economic forces appear weirdly irrational to Western thought, but they never affected, by any power of reason, the political thought of China. He was always distrusted, while he was alive, by the majority of his countrymen. He will be remembered in time as an historic figure of tragic irony."

We will not quote from Mr. J. O. P. Bland and other witnesses whose trenchant criticisms may rank them among the prejudiced. It will suffice to close with two quotations from American authorities, one a former American Diplomat and Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of California, Dr. E. T. Williams; the other, a former journalist, and at the time of writing, an Adviser to the Chinese Foreign Office, Mr. T. F. Millard.

Dr. Williams in his "Short History of China" stated that

"His (i.e., Dr. Sun's) impetuous temper seemed to have driven him to hasty actions which his sober judgment would not have approved. To accomplish his ends he joined hands with those whom he had previously condemned and adopted measures of more doubtful propriety. Won by the friendly advances of the Russians, he accepted their proffers of assistance, and thus unwittingly brought increased misery and suffering rather than relief to his countrymen."

Mr. Millard in a work *Conflict of Policies in Asia*, published a year before Dr. Sun's death, wrote:—

"He has had every chance to play a great part in the reconstruction of the nation; but somehow he has frittered his chances away, more from lack of practical constructive ability, I think, than from faults of moral character. . . . As casual head of the Canton Government, Sun usually has required about six months to break it down financially, by useless military expeditions, gradiloquently ordered against Peking, which seldom did more than ravage neighbouring localities, and by extravagance in general. Recently the *Weekly Review*, an American newspaper published at Shanghai, gave a prize for the best plan to obtain internal peace in the nation; and a plan submitted by a native of Kwangtung consisted of four words: 'Banish Sun Yat-sen.'"

CHAPTER XIX

CHINA GOES RED

A HISTORY of China during the years following the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen does not come within the scope of this volume. Only a brief record is necessary. The Kuomintang was by no means a united Party when Dr. Sun passed away. Many of his former followers had objected to his communist affiliations, and they remained opposed to the domination of Moscow. Among those who continued to do lip-service to his memory there were also serious dissensions. Some favoured the succession to the leadership of the "elder statesmen," Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei and Liao Chung-kai, who supported the Moscow alliance. Others, known as the "Prince Faction" supported the claims of Mr. Sun Fo, only son of Dr. Sun, to the Party leadership. Mr. Sun Fo had opposed affiliation with the communists, and had actually resigned from the position of Mayor of Canton a few weeks before the Saikuan massacre. Another faction, known as the Western Hill Conference Group, extremely conservative in its policy, would have nothing to do with communism. The Yunnanese militarists, still garrisoning Canton, also aspired to the control of the Party.

In April, 1925, the Western Hills Conference Group, numbering about 124 members, was formally expelled from the Kuomintang. The follow-

ing month at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Party it was decided to break off relations with Peking. Borodin thus acquired increasing influence, receiving the appointment of High Adviser to the Canton Foreign Minister, and being freely consulted regarding matters of domestic policy.

Although Canton was in chaos for several months, an incident that took place in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, afforded the Russian advisers an opportunity to exploit anti-British feeling among the masses. A riot arising from trouble in a Japanese cotton mill resulted in some shooting by the Shanghai Municipal Police, when the mob attempted to rush Louza Police Station. The Police Inspector in charge was British, and several of the Police involved in the shooting were Sikhs. Word therefore went forth that a mass attack was to be delivered against "British Imperialism." On many occasions before and since, Chinese troops or police, with much less provocation, had fired on riotous gatherings. Here, however, was a chance for Moscow to retaliate against British hostility in Europe. And the Chinese were willing tools. The anti-British movement spread like wildfire. There were riots, in some instances accompanied by bloodshed, in several of the Yangtze ports. British and French naval landing parties at Shameen were compelled to retaliate by firing upon the local Red forces, at Canton. A general strike was organized at Hongkong and an anti-British boycott of unprecedented intensity was enforced throughout South and mid-China. Once again

it was demonstrated that xenophobia would unite Chinese factions which agreed upon nothing else.

In June the local Kwangtung armies, with Chiang Kai-shek's Russian trained cadets to the fore, attacked the Yunnanese in Canton, and, with the aid of Soviet artillery, completely routed them. An appalling massacre followed. Few of the unfortunate Yunnanese escaped alive.

Local dissensions at Canton resulted in repeated changes in the personnel of the Southern Government, with the Russians gaining more and more influence. Their technique, which included intensive political training for the troops, and the fomenting of class warfare, succeeded where Dr. Sun's much advertised punitive expeditions had failed. In alliance with the Hunanese, the Southern Armies reached the middle Yangtze Valley in the latter part of 1926. The Wu-Han cities fell into their hands, and an orgy of Bolshevism ensued. In January, 1927, in pursuance of Moscow's anti-British campaign, the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang were overrun by Chinese mobs. No resistance was offered, and in an effort to placate the nationalist feeling the British Government restored these areas to the Chinese authorities—in this case to the Wu-Han Reds.

The Nationalist forces began early in 1927 to move down river on Nanking and Shanghai. At Nanking, on March 24, they perpetrated a series of atrocities upon the foreign communities, several persons being murdered, and others (including the British Consul-General) seriously wounded. At Shanghai similar outrages were averted by the

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presence of the British Defence Force, and other Foreign garrisons, which had been sent thither to protect the foreign areas. It was, however, after occupying the Chinese controlled areas of Shanghai, that General Chiang Kai-shek was forced to the conclusion that a breach with the communists was inevitable. So-called "White Unions" were instigated to massacre the Reds, and shortly afterwards there was a definite breach between General Chiang and the Wu-Han regime. A rival Government was established at Nanking, and in July the Wu-Han Government began to go to pieces. Its dissolution was mainly due to the discovery that Moscow, contrary to the decisions of the Chinese left leaders, was ordering the confiscation of land from its owners. Borodin was sent back to Moscow, with most of the other Russian advisers, and followed by Mme. Sun Yat-sen and Eugene Chen. On arrival at Moscow Mme. Sun gave out a statement denouncing the breach with the communists, and the non-fulfilment of the agrarian revolution, as reactionary and counter-revolutionary. After various vicissitudes the Central Government was definitely established at Nanking. Incidentally members of the Western Hills Conference Group were reinstated.

Canton underwent another catastrophe in December, 1927, when it was captured by a Communist *coup*, resulting in several days of pillage and massacre. Bloody reprisals followed when it was retaken from the Reds a few days later.

The main military phase of the Nationalist movement may be said to have been completed by the occupation of Peking and Tientsin in June, 1928.

CHAPTER XX

CHINA UNDER THE KUOMINTANG

UNIFICATION of China under Kuomintang rule was supposed to have been achieved at the end of 1928 when the young Manchurian War Lord, Chang Hsueh-liang, defying the Japanese, tendered his allegiance, and hoisted the blue flag with the white star over his territory. This unification, however, was only a prelude to a series of political quarrels and civil wars. Many of the old Militarists, who had rendered lip-service to the Kuomintang and the *San Min Chu I*, had not the slightest intention of brooking any interference or control on the part of the Nanking regime. Different years found the Kuomintang Triumvirate, Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min, and Wang Ching-wei in rival camps. A detailed description of the civil wars that ensued does not come within the scope of this work. Some of them, especially the revolt of Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang against Nanking in 1930, assumed the proportions of major warfare and lasted for several months. Each revolt ended with an increase in Chiang Kai-shek's ascendancy, though in no case did he press his victory to the extent of capturing and punishing the leaders of the risings. At various times Wang Ching-wei, Feng Yu Hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan, and other leaders were proscribed and expelled from the Party while for several

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months Hu Han-min was kept in preventive detention at Nanking.

While battling to overthrow the military power of his rivals General Chiang Kai-shek was also engaged in continuous warfare against the Red Armies. They first established themselves in Kiangsi, in Mid-China, in 1927, and were only dislodged from that area after long and costly operations, in October, 1934. When unable to hold Southern Kiangsi any longer the Reds started a long circuitous overland march, through portions of Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan and Kansu to Shensi, where, by the end of 1936 they had linked up with other Communist forces, and established a Soviet regime which embraced most of the Northern half of the Province, and was within easy reach of the Russian border. Efforts to suppress them continued, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang—whose forces had been driven out of Manchuria by the Japanese—being appointed Vice-Commander-in-Chief, with Headquarters at Sian, the Shensi Capital. His troops suffered several reverses at the hands of the Reds, and thereafter fought them half-heartedly. During 1936, indeed, he appears to have entered into an unofficial understanding with the Red Leaders, on the basis of united resistance to the Japanese. And when, in December of that year, Chiang Kai-shek proceeded to Sian in person to arrange for the resumption of the anti-Red campaign, he was kidnapped by the young Marshal, and presented with a series of demands which included admission of the Communists to the Government, and the adoption of the policy

of armed resistance to the Japanese. He was eventually released without, so it was said, yielding to any of his captors' demands, and the Young Marshal, in a penitential mood, accompanied him to Nanking, where he was tried for and convicted of treason, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and then pardoned. He remained under surveillance at a remote spot, until the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937. Although the demand of the Communists for admission to the Government was rejected by Conference of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, which met in February, 1937, military operations against the Reds ceased, and on the outbreak of the "undeclared War" with Japan, the Communist Armies were embodied in the Eighth Army of the National Forces, and their co-operation was openly acknowledged.

Kuomintang rule was never very popular with the Chinese bourgeoisie, and was from the outset extremely unpopular in North China. There, numbers of Southern "Carpet-baggers" appeared, to be installed in various provincial and local offices. Throughout China local party headquarters, known as Tang Pu, became symbols of intolerance and persecution. The Tang Pu leaders were active in organizing labour disturbances, intimidating or superseding the judiciary, and fomenting anti-foreign feeling and activities. Their conduct became so intolerable, and brought the Party into such discredit, that eventually steps had to be taken to restrain them. The ruling clique of the Party, in fact, moved more and more to the right, and in 1936-7 had become frankly reactionary,

and as intolerant of liberalism as the leftist elements had formerly been of conservatism. Liberal writers were arrested by the score and either detained for months without trial, or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. General Chiang Kai-shek became to all intents and purposes a Dictator, with powers of life and death over his fellow-citizens. An example of his arbitrary conduct was the promulgation of anti-drug laws which transferred jurisdiction over drug traffickers and opium smokers to military tribunals, and prescribed capital punishment for trafficking in narcotics, and for backsliding on the part of opium addicts. It was open to question to what extent this anti-drug campaign was *bona-fide* inasmuch as tons of opium from Szechwan, Yunnan and other remote Provinces continued to reach Shanghai under military or naval escort.

Kuomintang rule in China has witnessed the rapid ascendancy of what has become known as the "Soong Dynasty." In 1916 Dr. Sun Yat-sen divorced his wife, Lu Szu, to whom he had been married in accordance with Chinese custom—and without any voice in the matter—in 1866, and married a Miss Ching-ling Lung (better known as Soong Ching-ling) a graduate of McTyiere School in Shanghai, and of Wesley College in America. She came of a wealthy Christian family. In due course an elder sister, Soong Ai-ling married Dr. H. H. Kung, and in 1927 her younger sister, Soong Mei-ling, was married to General Chiang Kai-shek. Madame Sun Yat-sen quarrelled with the rest of the family and temporarily withdrew to Moscow, after the

breach with the Communists in 1927. Later she returned and took up her residence in the French Concession at Shanghai, though remaining in opposition to the Nanking regime. She was one of the few Chinese who could criticize the Chinese Government with impunity, as her former relationship to Sun Yat-sen made it impossible for her to be disciplined, however outspoken her attacks on her brother-in-law and other Nanking leaders.

The Soong daughters had two brothers, Sung Tsu-wen (T. V. Soong) and Sung Tzu-liang (T. L. Soong). The former, a graduate of Harvard, was Minister of Finance of the Canton, and subsequently of the Nanking, Government. He gave up this position, on account of differences of opinion with General Chiang Kai-shek on the financing of military operations, in 1933, and was then appointed Governor of the Central Bank, Chairman of the Bank of China, and an Executive Member of the National Economic Council. Dr. H. H. Kung, his brother-in-law, succeeded him as Minister of Finance. The younger brother, T. L. Soong, was also given various important financial appointments, including those of Manager of the China Development Finance Corporation, and Commissioner of Finance of Kwangtung. Thus the executive, military and financial authority in China centred in members by descent or by marriage of the Soong family. Madame Kung is reputed to be the ablest of the three sisters, especially in financial matters, and rumour has connected her with many extensive market operations. The Soong clique is undoubtedly the wealthiest and most powerful

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group of individuals in China, but the nepotism for which it has been responsible (*vide* the position of T. L. Soong, and the appointment of a son of Dr. Kung, scarcely out of his teens as Director of the official Bank of Communications), has not served to inspire public confidence, or popularity.

Of the other members of the Sun Yat-sen family the only one who counts to-day is Sun Fo, his only son by his first wife. Generally known as "the Crown Prince" he is reputed to have amassed a fortune when Mayor of Canton (1921—4). He has held office as President of the Executive Yuan since February, 1932.

Hu Han-min, who was by many regarded as the senior of Sun Yat-sen's disciples, after being detained at Nanking because of a disagreement with Chiang Kai-shek for about eight months in 1931, was released and went South. He remained an uncompromising critic of the Nanking Government until his death, shortly after returning from a visit to Europe, at Canton in May, 1936.

Wang Ching-wei, who was perhaps Sun Yat-sen's favourite disciple, has wavered between leftist and rightist tendencies ever since the Kuomintang came into power. Because of his connection with the Yen-Feng revolt in 1930 he was formally expelled from the Kuomintang, but he was reinstated in 1931, and has since, in general, co-operated with the Generalissimo. He has suffered from diabetes for many years, and after he had been seriously wounded by a political assassin in November, 1935, he went abroad to recuperate. Since his return he has been Chairman of the

Political Council. He is commonly credited with opposition to the policy of armed resistance to Japan, though he has remained a member of the Government since the outbreak of hostilities.*

The apotheosis of Sun Yat-sen has been described in a previous chapter. The Messiah bequeathed to his followers a Bible, the *San Min Chu I*, of "Three Principles of the People," to the doctrines of which all true Party Members must now subscribe. It remains to describe the origin and briefly to analyse the contents of this amazing work.

* Wang Ching-wei fled from Chungking to Hanoi, in French Indo-China, in December, 1938, and there issued an appeal for peace by negotiation with Japan. He was promptly denounced as a "Traitor," expelled from the Kuomintang and deprived of all his official positions in the Government.

CHAPTER XXI

ORIGIN OF THE "SAN MIN CHU I"

THE *San Min Chu I*, the political Gospel of the Kuomintang, and, indeed, of all China, since that Party gained the ascendancy, was prepared by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924. The translation of the title in general usage is "The Three Principles of the People" or "The People's Three Principles," though a Jesuit translator, Father D'Elia, invented the name "Triple Demism." Some years previously Dr. Sun had published an English edition of his "The International Development of China," in which he advocated grandiose projects financed with foreign capital. He appears to have been engaged upon the preparation of what he intended to be his political *magnum opus* in 1922, when he was driven out of Canton by Chen Chiung-ming's revolt, and his manuscripts and library were destroyed. He himself professes to have based his Three Principles upon Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and the French revolutionary slogan, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." During his periods of exile abroad he had had opportunities of studying at close quarters various foreign political systems, and he was convinced that he had, in what he called his "Three Principles" and his "Five Power Constitution" evolved a novel political system, which would prove to be China's salvation.

The actual text of the *San Min Chu I* was never

written by him. It took the form of a series of extempore lectures which he delivered in Chinese, supposedly at Borodin's instigation, in Canton between January and August (with an interval from May to July) in 1924. In the first half of the year he delivered six lectures on Nationalism, and another six on Democracy. In August he gave four on the People's Livelihood. Notes of the lectures were taken down by Huang Chang-ko, one of his Secretaries, revised by Tsou Lu, and finally revised by the lecturer. The whole series were then embodied in a single volume which was intended, as he said in his preface, to become "a masterpiece" and "serve as a manual for propaganda." He admitted, however, that the text might require correction by his adherents to serve these purposes. The volume abounds with inaccuracies and economic fallacies, and is full of inconsistencies. The single authority on which he appears to have relied most in its preparation, was a work by an American Dentist, Maurice William, entitled "The Social Interpretation of History." (Incidentally, he confused him with Mr. Whiting Williams, an American welfare worker and lecturer on labour problems). Dr. William, later, in a work entitled "Sun Yat-sen versus Communism," claimed the credit for converting him from the Soviet theory. And so we find that while in the first two series of lectures Dr. Sun advocated communism, in the final series, after reading Dr. William's book, he "threw Russia overboard."

In an article contributed to *Current History* in July 1932, Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, referring to Maurice William's book, wrote:—

"In some way—how no-one knows—(Father D'Elia says that the book was privately circulated all over the world with a request for criticism) the volume had come into Dr. Sun's hands. The lectures on the Principle of Livelihood not only reflected it, but were based on it. In 'Sun Yat-sen versus Communism' are a hundred pages of quotations in parallel columns from Sun's lectures and 'The Social Interpretation of History.' On crucial points Sun quotes William almost verbatim. In other words, the most important part was the product of an unknown dentist on the other side of the world who had written an obscure book having no reference to China, who had never been in China, knew nothing about China, and was probably not in the least bit interested in it. History abounds in irrational and fantastic episodes inseparably woven into great events, but no episode is more fantastic than this. . . . He (i.e., Dr. Sun) starts with an enunciation of his philosophy and programme on which, as leader of new China, he will build regenerated society. Personally he has thought them out. Then midway in the course of their pronouncement he reads one book, a book by a man of whom he knows so little that he takes him to be somebody else, and then he turns a complete about-face and simply adopts a new philosophy and programme. He had already done the same thing. In fact, only three years before he was espousing Communism and inveighing against the capitalistic, imperialistic Powers he had published a book outlining a plan for the economic reconstruction of China with foreign loans. Thus, in four short years he had travelled between two opposite extremes in social philosophy."

Michael Borodin must have had his tongue in his cheek when encouraging Dr. Sun to give his lectures, for, as readers may recall, he had scoffed at him as a self-loving egoist, exceedingly proud of having invented his five famous principles (presumably his "Five-power Government") of which three belonged to Montesquieu, and the other two to former Chinese politicians.

"We are entitled to expect" wrote Dr. Victor Purcell in his *Problems of Chinese Education* "from

a work offered as the *vade mecum* of the Chinese people, and used to replace the whole body of classical thought, that it should be of one piece, and that the facts stated in it should survive the strictest tests." But Dr. Sun was guilty of inconsistency as well as plagiarism, and of the deliberate falsification of facts to bolster up his absurd economic and political theories.

Two translations of the *San Min Chu I* are available to English readers. One is by Frank W. Price. It is not annotated or indexed. The other, Father Pascal D'Elia's "The Triple Demism of Sun Yat-sen" is a more scholarly work, containing a biographical introduction, copious notes, and a lengthy "Appreciation." The reader of this work, however, must constantly remember that it was prepared with a definite object—to prove that the "Three Principles" were not irreconcilable with the teachings of the Catholic Church. The student's credulity is often strained beyond breaking point by the learned Jesuit's efforts to explain away Communist and other heresies and to prove that when Dr. Sun spoke of either Communism or Socialism what he really meant was neither, but the conveniently coined word "Demism." Catholic as well as Protestant missionaries found themselves in a serious predicament when the Chinese Government ordained that the *San Min Chu I* must form part of the curriculum of every School and College. Father D'Elia's naivete may be judged from his statement that :—

"Therefore at the risk of seeming to utter a paradox, we think that, with the Triple Demism in hand, we may tell Sun Yat-sen, no matter what he says, he is neither a Com-

munist, nor a Socialist, but simply a Demist, and that, once cleared of the obscurity of formulæ and the somewhat intentional ambiguity of terms his Demism can, by means of a few corrections, be presented in such a way that it does not oppose Catholic teaching. Were Sun Yat-sen truly Socialist, *a fortiori* Communist, he would have spoken very differently and would have demanded other reforms. Nowhere does he base his teaching on philosophical materialism; nowhere does he condemn the right of property as illegitimate; nowhere does he assert the absolute primacy of the State over property, family and education."

This is a feeble argument for the use of the *San Min Chu I* in Catholic Schools after the author has devoted many pages to exposing its "inaccuracies, exaggerations, generalizations, hasty conclusions, too quick judgments, and also historical, philosophical, and economic errors, pages which assuredly are not free from danger, at least for the young and thoughtless, and in matters relating to political economy."

The Christian missionary conscience seems to have proved extraordinarily elastic when confronted with the alternatives of using a textbook replete with falsehoods and economic fallacies and designed to foment hostility to the white races, or forfeiting official recognition of their educational institutions.

Some idea of the extent to which the teaching of the *San Min Chu I* has been exploited to foment xenophobia will be given in a later chapter. In the following chapters the D'Elia version has generally been used, except when coined phrases are used to obscure Dr. Sun's real meaning.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SAN MIN CHU I

BEFORE dealing with the *San Min Chu I* critically it may be helpful to reproduce a typical digest for foreign consumption of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "masterpiece" prepared by Mr. Chester S. Miao for the China Christian Educational Association, as translated for the *Manchester Guardian* (Dec. 30, 1926) :—

What are the Three Principles of the People? They are Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism. In other words, they are principles of salvation of our country. They are a means to enable China to exist for ever in the world.

I. NATIONALISM

China is now in a dangerous state. On the one hand she has become a colony of every Great Power. The Powers have pressed us hard both economically and politically. On the other hand, our population has been diminishing, while that of the Powers has been rapidly growing. If that rate of growth is kept on for another hundred years, they can not only conquer us, but also extinguish us as a race. In order to save our country and to preserve our race, we have first to recover the nationalistic spirit which we have lost in the last hundred years. It is true that we are a peace-loving people, and that our ancestors in the past strongly believed

in internationalism, but we must also remember that unless we have a strong nationality as a foundation we can neither have peace nor enjoy international friendship.

There are several essential things we must do in the recovery of our lost nationalistic spirit. First, we must help our people to understand clearly the dangerous state of our country and the immediate effect of that state upon every one of us. Second, we must organize our people into one strong organized group. This can be accomplished only by using such strong units as clans and local organizations. Third, we must revive old characteristics, such as loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and love, faith, righteousness and love of peace. Fourth, we must revive our old learning as found in the Great Learning; especially to pursue our learning and the object of our pursuit, investigation of things, extension of knowledge, sincerity in thought, rectification of heart, regulation of the family, right government of the State, and making the whole kingdom tranquil and happy. Fifth, we must revive our creative power, the power which we once had in inventing new things. We must do all these things, but, aside from that, we must also go out to learn what is best in the West.

II. DEMOCRACY

We adopt democracy as one of our Party platforms for two main reasons. First, we desire to follow the political trend of the world. Second, we believe it is one of the best means to put an end

to our civil wars. By following the world's trend, we do not mean to copy from the West blindly. We ought to know the radical historical differences between the East and West. Furthermore, the West has, in the last century, progressed much more rapidly in material things than in those that concern man and his welfare. In politics, very little advance has been made. Therefore, aside from blunders and follies, we have very little positive lessons to learn from them.

Take, for instance, liberty and equality, two of the basic elements in democracy. If we do not know or forget to take into consideration their historical background, it would be really dangerous to advocate them. In the past the Western peoples had too little personal freedom. So in all their revolutionary wars they fought hard for liberty. Historically, this has not been true in China. Our people, thus far, have had too much personal freedom. As a result of that we have become a plate of sand and are helpless in face of foreign imperialism and its economic conquest. So what we need now is not to fight for more personal freedom but to sacrifice some of our personal freedom in order to gain our national freedom.

In equality we also have to differentiate true equality from false equality. There is no such thing as equality in natural gifts. All we can do is to give our people political equality. Instead of gain we should take service as the goal of our life. He who receives the greatest amount of talents should render service to the largest number of people. He who receives the smaller amount of talents

should render service to a smaller number of people. Even he who receives the least should at least try to serve himself well.

Since we have little to learn from the West, and since we have almost no experience of our own in the democratic form of government, we have to solve our own problems as best we can. The following are the two problems which we have tried to solve:—First, how to have a strong Central Government, and at the same time to remove the fear of the people of such a Government. Our solution lies in the change of the people's attitude towards Government officials. The people ought to treat the Government officials in the same manner as the shareholders of a factory or a business concern treat their managers. We are shareholders in the Republic. Our President, Prime Minister, and other Government officials are but our managers. Or we can regard them as our chauffeurs, cooks, physicians, carpenters, tailors, or any other kind of specialist you please. If they are capable and faithful, we should give them full executive power and never curtail their actions, for faithful and capable specialists know how and what to do. It is only when they are so treated that the Government can make progress and at the same time be harmless to the people.

Our second problem is to build up a powerful Government machinery, and at the same time enable the people fully to exercise their power and control of the machinery. The first part of the problem is solved by organizing our Government on the five principles, legislative, judicial, execu-

tive, entrance to public office by examination, and censorship. The second part of the question is solved by safeguarding the people with the power of election, power of recall, power of initiation of new laws, and power of revision of abolition or abolition of old laws.

III. SOCIALISM

Before using Socialism as a means to solve our social problems we must first find out the focus of all our problems. Many people in the West have taken material problems as the central point in human history. We must reject that false idea and centre all our problems around the welfare of the people. If we can only clearly understand that and then study the actual conditions in China, we shall come to see that none of the forms of Socialism developed in the West are fitted for our country. There are two other basic facts which we have also to recognize:—(1) that we do not have very rich people in China as there are in the West—we have only the poor and the very poor; (2) that our commerce and industry have not yet been developed. All we need now is to prevent rather than to remedy the evils arising from modern industry and commerce.

Take the land problem as an example. We do not have great landlords as they have in the West. But since land is vitally related to the people we ought to work out a preventive policy now. Our policy is easy and simple. First, the Government should tax or buy all lands according to their value. Second, the value of the land should be fixed by

its owner. Third, after the landowner has fixed his land value and reported to the Government, any future increase in land value should belong to the Government. Again, let us take the problem of regulating capital. Our great and immediate problem is not economic inequality, but economic poverty, not a fight against capitalists, but the prevention of the rise of capitalists in the future. Our method of solving this problem is to develop State industry. Since we do not have enough experience and capital to develop that, it would be wise for us to employ foreign specialists and to borrow foreign capital to help us.

With regard to the problem of food and clothing, our plan is as follows:—We want to give every citizen not only plenty of rice, but very cheap rice. We hope to do that by (1) by having every farmer cultivate his own land; (2) by using machines to take the place of human labour; (3) by utilizing waterfalls to manufacture chemical fertilisers; (4) by educating our farmers to use the method of rotation of crops; (5) by studying and applying the best methods of killing deleterious entozoa; (6) by improving methods of agriculture; (7) by developing modern methods of transportation; and (8) by doing all we can to prevent famines. The problem of clothing is twofold. On the one hand, there is an urgent need of improving our old methods of raising raw materials. On the other hand, we have to develop our own textile industry as rapidly as possible. That is, at present, hindered by the Treaties which forbid us to have tariff

autonomy. So that our first step in solving the problem of clothing is to remove all unequal treaties so that we may carry out a policy of protection.

It is in this innocuous form that Kuomintang propagandists wish the *San Min Chu I* to be understood by foreigners—in China and abroad. It will, however, be shown that this—a characteristic summary for Foreign consumption by no means reveals the real purport of Sun Yat-sen's teachings.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SAN MIN CHU I—A CRITICAL SUMMARY

NATIONALISM

THE series of six lectures on Nationalism opens with one on "Ethnic Oppression." The author deplores the fact that the Chinese, described by foreigners as "loose sand," have the family and the clan spirit, without possessing the national spirit. In an attempt to distinguish between race and nation he cites the example of the Chinese in Hongkong. "That city" he said, "certainly did not derive its origin from the fact that hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of Hongkong welcomed the British." It certainly did not, as when the island was occupied by Great Britain it was little more than a barren rock, and the nearly a million Chinese who now inhabit the Colony have presumably migrated thither to share in its welfare and prosperity, and the advantages of British rule, in regard to which Dr. Sun was at one time so enthusiastic.

Dr. Sun claims that the 400,000,000 million* Chinese form a single race, "having the same blood, the same spoken and written language, the same religion, the same habits and customs, and forming a complete and independent race." Nothing could be further from the truth. There is an infinite variety of racial characteristics, dialects, and religions in China, the speech of a Cantonese, for

*It will be noticed that his estimate of population varies in accordance with the particular argument he wishes to bolster up.

example, being as unintelligible to a Pekingese as would that of a Welshman or a Swede to an Englishman.

Japan's progress since she came into contact with the West is held up as an example to China. Russia, credited with having "changed the former policy of force into a new policy of peace" (and having incidentally annexed Outer Mongolia, and more recently virtually annexed Sinkiang) is described as one of the "oppressed countries!"

Fantastic calculations of the increases of population, past and future, of America and European countries follow, with the object of proving that China with a stationary or declining population will a century or two hence be at the mercy of 1,000,000,000 Americans! Past Chinese censuses from unidentifiable sources are quoted to support the view that there has been no increase in China's population during the past century. The late Mr. W. W. Rockhill, who made a special study of the subject estimated the average annual increase of population in China to be about 1.83 per cent. The most reliable estimates of China's population in Chien Lung's reign (1736 to 1796), to which Dr. Sun refers, were between 155 and 198 millions. The fecundity of the Chinese is notorious, and were it not for the checks imposed by floods and famines, epidemics, and a high rate of infant mortality the density of population would by this time have become intolerable.‡

The Lecture ends by raising the bogey that China will be swallowed up a century hence unless her population is increased.

‡The latest official estimate of China's population (exclusive of Manchoukuo) is 426,600,000.

Lecture II deals with "Political Oppression and Economic Oppression." Dr. Sun now claims that China compared with other races of the world is still the most numerous and the greatest, and "is still at the present time the most cultured race of the world" (with at least 80 per cent. illiteracy! Later, in his Sixth Lecture Dr. Sun states that "in general the Chinese are lacking in personal culture.") The alleged political, and economic "oppression" of China is then analysed. First is placed loss of territory—over most of which China had established shadowy rights by conquest, and in which, e.g., Tibet, Burma, and Annam, she was unable to implement any Treaties into which she entered with other Powers.

Turning to economic "oppression" Dr. Sun describes the status of China as that of a "hypo-Colony." She is the "Colony of each nation with whom she has made a Treaty," and these nations are falsely charged with having failed to come to her assistance in time of natural calamity. Millions of dollars have poured into China from Europe and America for famine and other relief, in times of national calamity. The origin of British supervision of the Customs is glaringly misrepresented as due to the exaction of indemnities, when in fact it was inaugurated for the purpose of protecting the Chinese Government's interests during a rebellion, when the entire machinery of collection broke down. It was at the wish of the Chinese Government that the Foreign Inspectorate was perpetuated. Foreign participation in the Customs administration was a particularly sore point with

Dr. Sun, as it was largely responsible for preventing him from raiding the Customs revenues when his other sources of income had failed.

An extraordinary list of examples of foreign economic "oppression" follows. Among the examples are:—The establishment of silk filatures and cotton mills (most of which are Chinese owned and capitalized, and all of which employ Chinese labour.)

The adverse balance of trade, which is described as "paying tribute" to foreigners.

The existence and operations of Foreign Banks (in connection with which the lecturer naively admits that "The psychology of the Chinese is one of distrust towards the native banks, and, on the contrary, of extraordinary confidence in foreign banks."); the use of foreign bank-notes in trade in exchange for Chinese merchandise; the foreign exchange transactions of the foreign banks; and the deposit of Chinese accounts in these institutions. Dr. Sun alleges that through paper money, cheques and deposits the foreign banks alone make a profit of nearly 100,000,000 dollars a year.

Transportation of Chinese goods abroad in foreign bottoms is another form of economic "oppression" which is assessed at not less than 100 million dollars per annum.

Taxation in the Foreign Settlements and Concessions is the next example, followed by the existence of foreign business enterprises, which account for another 100 million dollars. Finally come the exploitation of the Chinese fondness for specu-

lation, and the war indemnities. The lecturer then adds :—

“Let us sum up the various losses we have mentioned above. (1) Through invasion of foreign goods we lose 500,000,000 dollars annually.

(2) Through the invasion of the foreign banks' paper money into our market, through discounted cheques, exchange of deposits, and similar transactions we lose perhaps 100,000,000 dollars.

(3) Freight charges on exports and imports rob us of tens to hundreds of millions of dollars.

(4) Those three things, taxes, land rent, and land price in the Concessions and other leased territories take from us a total of four to five hundred million dollars.

(5) Through privileged and private enterprises of foreigners we lose from ten to one hundred million dollars.

(6) Speculation and other forms of swindle must amount to some tens of millions and over.

Under these six headings economic oppression causes us to suffer losses not less than \$1,200,000,000 (per annum).”

After this example of kindergarten economics Dr. Sun proceeds with his third Lecture—the “History of Chinese Nationalism,” with special emphasis on the role of secret societies. He deploras the disappearance of Chinese Nationalism as a result of conquest by an alien race. China's decadence is attributed to “cosmopolitanism.” He urges the revival of Chinese Nationalism in order to participate in the overthrow of the 250,000,000 men in the world who oppress the other 1,250,000,000!

Lecture IV deals with “Imperialism of the White Races and Imperialism of the Yellow Races.” The Anglo-Saxon race is described as being the most powerful and occupying most territory, though the only territory it occupies in Europe is that of the three islands (*sic*) . . . England, Scotland and Ireland. All European nations were imperialistic before the Great War. A superficial

pretence of examining the causes of that struggle is made, in which Dr. Sun's anti-British bias is evident, and the participation of America, described in Lecture I as being “more heterogeneous than any other race” is ascribed to the fact that she was of the same (Anglo-Saxon) race as Great Britain. The Peace Conference is described as a triumph for Imperialism. Russia is extolled for turning her back on Imperialism, and among other wild statements the lecturer asserts that “the Brown race of India is just in the process of being exterminated.”

Turning to China's past Imperialism Dr. Sun states that “we never oppressed the other races by economic force,” and pretends that if at one time “all the small States of Malaysia wanted to pay tribute and adopt Chinese customs it was because they admired Chinese civilization and spontaneously wished to submit themselves. It was not because China oppressed them with military force. . . Had China refused to accept their tribute they would have felt very much humiliated.” A Siamese official is credited with the statement that if China became a strong and wealthy nation Siam would willingly rejoin China and become one of her provinces.” What appears to have been a mythical interview with a British Consular official in Canton is next narrated, Dr. Sun boasting that when the subject of China's joining the Allies was raised he told him that :—

“Our civilization is more than 2,000 years ahead of yours. We suppose that you are coming up; we shall wait till you catch up with us.” Later

he says that "What accounts for the superiority of Europe over our China is altogether material civilization, not political philosophy."

Lecture V describes "Why and How Should Chinese Nationalism be Revived." After recapitulating the alleged dangers from political, economic and ethnical "oppression," and describing how Japan could "exterminate China in ten days," America could do the same in one month, and Britain and France "in two months at most," and attributing to all these Powers the fixed idea and main preoccupation of finding "adequate means to exterminate China," he returns to the thesis of the payment of tribute by Chinese to foreigners, which he now assesses at an annual tax per capita of 45\$ for every Chinese producer of average age—sufficient to destroy China within ten years! Chinese Nationalism, he urges, should be revived by giving enlightenment regarding the dangers that beset the country, by developing the family and clan spirit into a national spirit, and by grouping together to boycott foreigners.

The Sixth and last Lecture on Nationalism deals with "China as a Great Power: Three Practical Means to Attain that End." The first of these means is a return to ancient Chinese morality, which embodied loyalty and filial devotion, humanity and charity, faithfulness and justice, and lastly, peace. The honesty of the Chinese in the fulfilment even of unfavourable contracts is extolled, as if the old saying that "a Chinaman's word is as good as his bond" still remained true.

The second means is a return to ancient Chinese learning. The lack of personal culture, the poor education, the long fingernails, the absence of toothbrushing and other habits, etc., of the Chinese are reviewed. Dr. Sun maintains, however, that the Chinese show no lack of talent. “All the objects which the foreigners now prize most highly are inventions formerly achieved by the Chinese.” Among them he enumerates the compass, printing, porcelain, gunpowder, tea, silk, and the invention of arched doorways and hanging bridges.

The third means is the study of Foreign Sciences, in which he includes machinery, aviation and electricity.

Japan is again cited as an example. “If China imitates Japan she will become as strong as *ten Powers*.” And when she acquires this strength she will be able to “govern the country rightly and to pacify the world.”

2. DEMOCRACY

The second series of Lectures deals with “Democracy.”

Lecture I treats of the “History of Democracy.” A geological dissertation is followed by a description of mankind’s struggle against animals and against the forces of nature. Next comes “The struggle of man against man, of peoples against tyrants, Monarchy, Democracy.” It may surprise some historians to read that :—

“After the fall of Rome, the Emperor was overthrown ; the political power was wrested from him ; but he retained the religious power, and the peoples

of all lands continued to regard him as the *pontiff*." Historical accuracy, however, was not Dr. Sun's strong point. For later in the same lecture we read that "The leader of the revolutionary party at that time, Cromwell, brought about the execution of Charles I. That event alarmed all Europeans and Americans (*sic*) who considered it as unparalleled in history and thought that those responsible should be treated as traitors and rebels;" that "The United States was the first country of the world to practice democracy"; and that the Taiping rebellion failed in part because when England sent the Ambassador Pottinger to Nanking to negotiate a treaty with Hung Hsiu-chuan, and to repudiate the Manchu Emperor . . . he was admitted only to the presence of the Eastern Prince, Yang Hsiu-ching, and not to that of the Heavenly King, Hung Hsiu-chuan, because to see the latter he was required to kotow." (Sir Henry Pottinger never visited Nanking after 1842, when he signed the first Anglo-Chinese Treaty with the Imperial Plenipotentiaries! The Taipings occupied Nanking from 1853 to 1865).

After reference to political movements in Europe and America Dr. Sun inquires whether China is ripe for democracy. He takes advantage of this discussion to denounce his enemy Chen Chiung-ming, whom he accuses of plotting to become Emperor. And he advocates democracy for China and the sovereignty of the people, as a remedy against internal upheavals and ambitious militarists.

Lecture II deals with "Liberty." Quoting the watchword of the French Revolution he compares liberty to "nationalism," equality to "democracy," and fraternity to "the People's livelihood." He comments on the fact that the Chinese have no word for and do not understand the meaning of, liberty. The nearest they get to it is the phrase "unhampered and unbridled," which is the same as being like "loose sand." The Chinese welcome the idea of "getting rich" rather than liberty, and react to the word wealth in the same way as the peoples of Europe react to liberty. Actually they suffered very little from the autocracy of the Manchus and other Dynasties. The preaching of liberty in China is deprecated by Dr. Sun. It is, in fact, because they have too much liberty that generally they pay no attention to the idea. The lecturer condemns the frequent troubles caused by Chinese students, which cannot be regarded as practising liberty. The aim of the Chinese Revolution is not personal but political liberty. To make of China a strong nation "all must sacrifice their liberty. In order to restore freedom to our nation we must now put together our individual liberties and make all these into one solid organized body."

Lecture III is entitled "Equality." Dr. Sun combats the theory that equality is a natural endowment bestowed by Heaven upon man. There is no such thing as equality for men in a state of nature. By the employment of diagrams he seeks to show that though all should be on an equal political standing, mankind ranks in a descending scale in

in the following order:—Virtuous, sage, talented, wise, average, mediocre, stupid, wicked. England he does not rank as a democracy, describing the revolution as a failure, and expressing disapproval of the restoration of the Monarchy and the maintenance of the aristocracy. Then follows a dissertation upon the growth of American democracy, and the emancipation of negro slaves. Trades Unionism in the West he regards as a failure, and he criticizes the ignorance of Chinese Union Leaders.

Dividing the people of the world into three classes: the *pre-seeing*, the *post-seeing*, and the *non-seeing*, he urges that they should all unite, and advance the cause of human civilization.

Lecture IV discusses "Political Rights in History; Progress, Obstacles and Results." Without much regard for accuracy Dr. Sun again devotes considerable time to the political evolution of the United States. He does not, however, favour a Federal Government based upon the American precedent for China, arguing that as China is already united (?) there is no need for separating her into Provinces. After references to democratic movements in France, England and Germany, Dr. Sun asserts that the first obstacle to political rights was the centralization of government in America, the second the abuse of political rights resulting in the reign of terror in France, and the third the adoption of a form of State socialism by Bismarck, as an antidote to Marxian socialism. Crediting "some of the American states of the North-West which have recently been opened to immigration" with practising suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum, he claims that in future

any nation striving for complete political rights will have to adopt these. Representative government does not appeal to him. Confessing that he knows little about the Russian system except that it is "absolute popular government," he nevertheless considers it "much better than a representative government." What China must have in no way resembles the systems of Europe and America. She must build up a Republic based on "government by all the people."

In Lecture V this novel (?) theory is developed under the titles: "The Chinese Solution of the Question of Democracy; Separation of Power and of Capacity."* China should, thinks Dr. Sun, imitate the material civilization of foreigners, which he considers superior to that of China. But she should not imitate their political and social sciences. His suggestion is that there should be a separation of power and capacity. "No scholars, whether European or American, have ever found that theory of the differentiation between power and capacity." Reverting once more to the *pre-seeing*, *post-seeing*, and *non-seeing* classifications of mankind, he ascribes invention and creation to the first, imitative capacity only to the second, and action or labour to the last. Most of the people belong to the *non-seeing* class. The Republic is, in succession, compared to:—a factory, in which the President is the manager and the people are the stockholders; and to an automobile, of which the people are the owners, and the officials are the drivers.

*Price translates this as "Sovereignty and ability."

The sixth and last Lecture of this series deals with "The Working of the New Machinery of Government ; the Neo-Democracy of Sun Yat-sen." Comparing the State to a machine the lecturer asserts that the most important difference is that the machinery is moved by human agency, whereas the manufacturing machine is set in motion by material forces. He argues that whereas material machinery has been improved by trial and perfection, the human machinery of government has not progressed. Dr. Sun's theory of government is that there should be a separation of power and capacity ; that there should be a distinction between power over the Government and the power of the Government, and that these two powers must be balanced. Power over the Government will be placed entirely in the hands of the people, but the administrative power will be vested in the Government. Rights over the Government will include suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum ; the administrative power will be vested in five departments, judicial, legislative, executive, examining, and censoring. This so-called balancing of powers he hails as his own epoch-making discovery. He claims that a Government based on his principles will be "the most complete and the best Government in the world." How this elaborate system is to be brought into operation in a nation of four hundred millions, with a high percentage of illiteracy, is not explained. It has proved impossible, in the past, owing to the absence of a proper census and adequate administrative machinery, to exercise even one of the four popular rights, that

of suffrage. If recall, initiative and referendum were superimposed absolute chaos would result. The only originality in the whole of this wonderful project is the revival of the old Censorate system which should be superfluous if rights of freedom of speech, publication and assembly are assured, and exercised within and without the elected legislature.

THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

The third group of four Lectures is devoted to the "People's Livelihood." (Father D'Elia prefers the term "Economic Demism.") Lecture I deals, according to the latter with the "Refutation of the Socialistic and Marxist Solutions." As it opens with the statement that the greatest question of the time is the social question, and that "economic Demism is socialism, also called communism, i.e., the 'great commonwealth'" (collectivism?),* refutation of the Socialistic Solution can hardly be regarded as an accurate description, though later in the Lecture Dr. Sun does take issue with certain of Marx's theories. The social problem has been brought into prominence largely by the invention and use of machinery. The development of Marx's theories is described, and we are told that "After the European War there were scarcely any anti-Socialists left in the world." Dr. Sun's attempts to explain his own attitude towards Socialism are confusing, the more so when the translator makes such free use of the words "economic Demism" to try to prove the lecturer's hostility. It is here that Dr. Sun begins to make

*Price uses the word "Utopianism."

free use of Maurice William's "The Social Interpretation of History." Arguments are cited to contradict Marx's advocacy of class warfare, and to support the contention that class struggles are not the cause, but rather the disease of social evolution. Socialized distribution has done away with the monopoly of merchants. Improved living conditions and increased productivity and earnings have been bringing about harmony between capital and labour. After, in his earlier Lectures, accusing foreigners of levying tribute on China by establishing cotton mills and filatures, Dr. Sun disputes the Marxian theory that the surplus value realized by capitalists is stolen from the workers. "The surplus value of industrial production is not merely the fruit of the labour of the factory workmen. Every useful and powerful member of society who by use or influence directly or indirectly affects either the production or the consumption (of goods) also contributes to it." Marx's prediction of the downfall of capitalism had not been fulfilled, and many of his other prophecies have been falsified—e.g., the British workman has obtained his eight-hour day, in Germany and other countries production has actually increased following its introduction, and the Ford Factories have reduced working hours, increased wages, and decreased prices. The People's livelihood should be the centre of social history.

In Lecture II Dr. Sun expounds his solution of the People's livelihood. Different countries require different methods. The Kuomintang has adopted two methods: equalization of land owner-

ship; and restriction of capitalism. A return to Communism is the ideal of his scheme. China suffers from poverty. She has few rich, the main difference lying between the "very poor" and the "not-so-very-poor." Citing the increase of land values in Canton and in Shanghai, the lecturer maintains that the landowners have had nothing to do with this appreciation in value, or "unearned increment." The money acquired from land ownership is indirectly and imperceptibly taken from the people by the owners. The land problem must be solved and since Communism is the means for solving it, why have members of the Kuomintang opposed Communism? He advocates equalization of property through taxes on and the optional buying of land, according to the value determined by the owner. In his opinion the owner, say, of a plot of land on the Bund at Canton, whether of a value of \$10,000 or \$100,000 a mow, should be made to declare its value. Taxation will be on a percentage basis, and if the Government believes an owner to have undervalued his property, it will purchase it at his valuation. Any increment after the original valuation will revert to the community. "For instance, if a landowner assesses his land at 10,000 dollars, and after a few decades the value of the land rises to 1,000,000 dollars, according to our policy, that increment of 990,000 dollars should become a public fund belonging to all the people, to reward both those who have worked for the improvement of the community surrounding that lot, and those who developed the industry and commerce around that land."

This project, which he appears to have borrowed with variations from Henry George, he sums up with the reassuring intimation to land owners that "the value of the land as declared at present by the landowner will still remain the property of each individual landowner." This will be the first step in the regulation of capital. But this regulation must not end there. China must not only restrict private capital, she must also develop State capital, in order to foster industry in a country which lacks wealth. He considers that as Marxism has miscarried in Russia it is unsuited to China. Capital must be created by developing national industries, and for this men and capital must be borrowed from abroad.

Lecture III deals with "Food." China's food supply is inadequate, and the problem of increasing it is therefore the most urgent of those connected with the People's livelihood. The main reason for the shortage is that agriculture in China is backward; a further reason is the economic oppression of the Powers. The statement that China pays an annual tribute of 1,200,000,000 dollars to foreigners every year is repeated, with the addition that a portion of it is in foodstuffs. As examples he cites the export of egg products, frozen meat and game, and (from North China) wheat, barley and Soya beans. The exactions of landlords, which amount often to 60 per cent. of the value of the crop, must be ended, and each farmer made a landowner. Agriculture must be improved by the introduction of machinery, modern fertilizers, hydraulic generation of electricity, scientific crop rotation, the

eradication of insect and other pests, the canning of food, improved methods of transportation, and precautions against floods and droughts. But the emancipation of farmers, and the reforms enumerated above will not suffice. A complete solution of the People's livelihood problem requires the solving of the problem of distribution, as well as that of production, and this is impossible under a regime of private capital. The overthrow of capitalism must therefore become their aim, accompanied by the storage of each year's surplus of foodstuffs, until a reserve of three years' supply is in hand. Only then should any export of surplus supplies be permitted. (It is not explained how, when China's domestic production of food is inadequate there will ever be a surplus for storage).

The fourth and final Lecture discusses “Clothing.” This problem ranks next in importance to food. In his preliminary canter the Lecturer gives what purports to be a brief history of clothing, during which he asserts that “With garments of animal skin as clothing the hair of the body gradually lost its function and disappeared. . . Savages and men whose civilisation is young still have much hair on the body. Compare the Chinese with the Europeans; the body of Europeans has much more hair than that of the Chinese; the reason is that the Europeans have not yet attained the degree of natural evolution of the Chinese!” Scientists would be unlikely to accept this proof of the advanced evolution of the Chinese.

In this (and the preceding) Lecture we find that the population of China has suddenly decreased

from the estimate of 400 millions in his earlier Lectures to 310,000,000, and that as it is likely to decrease further during the next few years an estimate of 300 millions will suffice as a basis for discussing the problem of clothing!

Dr. Sun then discusses the Chinese silk industry, for the decline of which he blames Foreigners. Though he complains that Japan has outdistanced China in the quality and volume of her silk exports, the export of silk from China, thus depriving her people of its use, is represented as a form of Foreign economic oppression. After stressing the necessity of improved methods of sericulture the Lecturer turns to hemp. Here, and also in the case of the cotton industry the same reason is given for the decline in China's production. Dr. Sun complains of the Tariff treatment of Foreign cotton and cotton goods, and especially of their immunity from likin imposts which native manufactured piecegoods were required to pay at every barrier. (Surely a Chinese, not a Foreign form of "oppression.") In spite of the development of Chinese cotton-mills during the great war, to supply the home market, they failed to prosper when that conflict ended. This leads to a dissertation on the "unequal Treaties" and the advocacy of a protective Tariff against Foreign merchandise. The Treaties in question must be abolished, and China must take back the Customs, which is administered by Foreigners. After a brief reference to the wool industry—in the course of which Dr. Sun makes the absurd statement that "the quality of Chinese wool is superior to that of Foreign wool" (though it is of

such short staple that it is exported almost entirely for the manufacture of carpets and felt)—the Lecturer concludes with the suggestion that China “must establish everywhere on a large scale tailor’s workshops where garments are fashioned in accord with this triple function” (protection of the body, adornment, and differentiation of classes). Then there would be ample clothing for all. But vagabonds, and lazy rascals must be converted “into saintly labourers worthy of enjoying civic rights” before the problem of the People’s livelihood will be solved.

Here the *San Min Chu I* abruptly ends. The Lecturer undoubtedly intended to deliver two more discourses on the People’s livelihood. But Dr. Sun left Canton to direct operations against some of his adversaries in the North of the Province, and when he returned it was after the holocaust of the Merchant Volunteers, and it would have been as much as his life was worth to have appeared on any public platform.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE *San Min Chu I* AND EDUCATION

"Without this book" writes Lyon Sharmon in *Sun Yat-sen: His Life and Its Meaning*,

"Sun Yat-sen's claim to the worship of the present generation in China would lack its most important documentation. It is doubtful whether, if there had never been a *San Min Chu I*, there could ever have been a Will or a Cult. The book was the chief firebrand of the Nationalist propaganda in 1926—28, and it is now the most important text in Kuomintang education."

Study of the *San Min Chu I* is compulsory in all schools, colleges and universities in China. The summary of the Lectures given in the last Chapter should have conveyed some idea of its absurdities, inconsistencies, and falsehoods. Yet in using the book for educational purposes, these are the very features that have been emphasized, and even exaggerated. While it is true that statements can be quoted from one part or other of the work to support or condemn Communism, or almost any other political theory, the *San Min Chu I* cannot be robbed of its xenophobic features. The intolerant attitude of Party leaders may be judged from the statement of Tai Chi-tao, President of the Examination Yuan that: "Whoever does not believe in the *San Min Chu I* is a willing victim to the craft of the evil spirit and leads society to misfortune."

Of its wide use in education Father D'Elia writes :

"Sun Yat-sen's book has been broadcasted all over the country. It is meant to be the code of the new generations. It has to bring forth a new nation. In the mind of the present leaders of China, this book must be made a compulsory text for all the schools, even mission schools. Mention is even made of one school for girls which used no other textbook nor programme of study but the Triple Demism (i.e., the *San Min Chu I*). At the end of the school year students must pass a special examination upon this new topic. In the tests for government offices the candidate must, first of all, show that he has mastered the Demist doctrine."

Dr. Victor Purcell in his volume on *Problems of Chinese Education* states that the ninety minutes a week allotted to this subject in Primary Schools

"by no means represents the time occupied with the 'Three Principles' and connected political subjects. Since 1925 the textbooks issued with the approval of the Chinese Ministry of Education and otherwise, had already been systematically permeated with political lessons designed to cultivate political, especially anti-foreign, feeling. . . . A casual examination of any of the many series of primary textbooks will show the arbitrary way in which the original subject matter has had anti-foreign teaching introduced into it. For instance, a text-book on sociology published by the Commercial Press, and intended for children of about 11 years of age, has introduced into it a full-page picture of the 'massacre' at Shanghai, on May 30, 1925, in which British and Sikh police are shown as shooting down defenceless Chinese."*

Further on in the same Chapter he asserts that :—

"To venture to criticize the *San Min Chu I* at all is to incur the resentment of Nationalist China. The text is sacred, and must not be referred to except in terms of reverence and eulogy."

In 1931 an organisation known as the Sokokusha, in Tokyo, printed a brochure entitled "Anti-Foreign Teachings in New Text Books of China." It includes numerous quotations in Chinese, with English translations, of anti-foreign passages in

* See p. 134.

standard Chinese textbooks. The Preface not unfairly states that :—

“In many instances, the paragraphs represent an exposition of a construction of facts so distorted as to put Foreign nations or individuals in a light altogether unfair and undeserved. In other instances the compilers resort to an astute art of telling half-truths; that is, what they tell about Foreigners’ doings is quite true, but there is a gross omission of truth as to the real cause that necessitated Foreign nations or individuals to take steps, which taken singly apart from the circumstances, do not fail to appear very unreasonable. Or again, incidents calculated to discredit Foreigners are dwelt on so constantly, and to such a degree as to obliterate Foreigners’ merits and create a totally wrong impression. In some cases tendentious statements of the above character are not conspicuous to casual readers, yet an analogous effect is produced by giving full play to the hyperbolical style or the subtle metaphorical style which is characteristic of Chinese literature. Thus are employed not only *suppressio veri*, but *suggestio falsi*. In any case they come to the same result of deluding juvenile credulity and of creating a rooted prejudice in the susceptible minds of the little children. Instilling a violent anti-foreign sentiment in the hearts of China’s young millions, eventually to represent one quarter of the world’s population, is certainly not calculated to promote the cause of the world’s peace. In no case could it possibly help to adjust or solve the varied and complex problems which the nations around the Pacific basin are facing. That the China of the next generation should grow up with a strong anti-foreign sentiment and prejudice is a contingency worth claiming the most serious and full consideration of those who have at heart the cause of the world’s peace, as well as the real happiness and welfare of China’s millions.”

Instances of the type of anti-foreign propaganda in school text books will be given later. Here it may be pointed out that the serious effects of this propaganda were emphasized in the Report of the Lytton Commission of Enquiry into the Sino-Japanese Dispute of 1931.

“Having started upon the road of international co-operation for the purpose of solving her difficulties, as was done at Washington,” said this Report, “China might have made more substantial progress in the ten years that have since elapsed, had she continued to follow that road. She has only been

hampered by the virulence of the anti-foreign propaganda which has been pursued. In two particulars has this been carried so far as to contribute to the creation of the atmosphere in which the present conflict arose, namely, the use made of the economic boycott, and the introduction of anti-foreign propaganda into her schools. A perusal of the text-books used in the schools leaves the impression on the mind of a reader that the authors have sought to kindle patriotism with the flame of hatred, and to build up manliness upon a sense of injury. As a result of this virulent anti-foreign propaganda, begun in the schools and carried through every phase of public life, the students have been induced to engage in political activities which sometimes have culminated in attacks on the persons, homes or offices of Ministers and other authorities, and in attempts to overthrow the Government. Unaccompanied by effective internal reforms or improvements in national standards, this attitude tended to alarm the Foreign Powers and to increase their reluctance to surrender the rights which are at the moment their only protection.”

All textbooks in use in Chinese schools have to receive the imprimatur of the Ministry of Education. The Sokokusha booklet already mentioned quotes from or refers to scores of textbooks permeated with anti-foreign teachings. Some of them such as the series of books known as the “National Humiliation Readers” contain little else, their aim being to foster the general observance of so-called “Humiliation Days.” For this purpose the facts of the various incidents referred to are grossly misrepresented. Examples are the so-called “May 30th Incident” (of 1925) where Shanghai Settlement Police found it necessary to fire to protect a Police Station from an angry mob; (see page 134); the insistence of the Treaty Powers upon the observance of their Boxer Protocol right to maintain free communication between Peking and the sea, when in the course of one of China’s periodical civil wars the Chinese blockaded the Haiho at Taku; and the

overrunning of the British Concession at Hankow in January, 1927 (when it is falsely stated that "the landing party fired and killed a great number of Chinese.") Britain, Germany, Russia, America, France and Japan are all objects of attack.

Many of Dr. Sun's economic heresies are repeated and even expanded, accompanied by incitement to boycott foreign goods. Pages of extracts to prove the poisonous effect upon the minds of the rising Chinese generation could be quoted. But a few must suffice.

What is one to think of a Geography (the "New Age Geography" for higher Grades) that states:—

"Ever since the Englishmen invaded Oceania, the aborigines of Tasmania were all annihilated by the invaders by the hunting method which is commonly applied to wild beasts and only a woman was saved."

What may be regarded as a typical example of the form taken by anti-British propaganda will be found in the section of the "New Educational System National Language Readers for the Higher Grade" dealing with the British Crown Colony of Hongkong. It opens with the complaint that in the schools Chinese are not permitted freedom even to adopt textbooks published in China. The following are a few extracts from a lengthy article:—

"All the administrations of Hongkong are carried on according to the laws and regulations of Hongkong, and never take into account the human element; a fine place for reign of law. 'Unless you get sanction from the Hongkong Government anything you propose may be rejected as unlawful, no matter how perfectly it conforms to reason. Some people commit suicide through indignation or from being driven to their wit's end, and we cannot blame them. But funnily enough the Government attempts to rescue them, whenever they take notice. After the rescue, however, they never take pity on them; on the contrary they punish the

rescued. In such a region like this where the so-called 'reign of law' prevails even life and death are not put at a man's discretion. He, who wishes to die must be rescued, and the rescued must be punished again.

More than this, who knows that there are people who are punished after they have died? Suppose that here is a man who has died of illness. If there is no medical certificate given by a Foreign Doctor, who is authorized by the Hong-kong Government, the corpse must be sent to the Coroner's office for anatomical examination. Even though the man had been taken care of by a famous Chinese Doctor, and the family has appealed for exemption from the examination, the Government never listens to them and unfailingly dissects the subject. . . This is nothing other than a sign that the Government despises the Chinese culture and learning, and treats the Chinese lives slightly.

What a poor place is Hongkong for a Chinese to live in! Their dwellings are generally found in the attics of buildings, usually on the fourth floor. The steps are so narrow, dark and steep, that a child is apt to fall down from it, if he is not very careful, and he is very lucky if he only gets the skin grazed, for he often breaks his arm or even loses his life. In such a case, the parents of the child are arrested and escorted to a court house.

The houses where the Englishmen live are grand mansions, of European style. They command fine views and the steps are covered by carpets. Their professional positions are much higher than the Chinese's, and their salaries are naturally enormous compared to those of our brethren. Therefore their dwellings are luxurious and their children quite safe. . . As the lives of the majority of the Chinese are so hard and their dwellings are so poor, they cannot keep everything clean and well provided.

The so-called 'King's House' (i.e., Government House) thinks that the unclean air may pollute the air Englishmen breathe and thus it may endanger their lives; thereupon they order a general house-cleaning once a year. The Bureau of Public Health gives notice several days before, and when the day comes we must cleanse, not only the rooms, but also the furniture and even the table-ware. The Bureau of Public Health then sends out a few Englishmen with their assistants. If there is anything that does not satisfy the Englishmen, they will scold in a thundering voice and let the assistants throw out, at random, all the furniture, big or small, treasure or not, upon the street and then sprinkle over them some disinfectant. Then they nod assent and leave. The goods upon which the disinfectant is sprinkled are at least partly damaged. What an outrageous method they take."

It is interesting to compare the above with the eulogy of British rule in Hongkong delivered at the Colony's University by Dr. Sun, in 1922 (see pp. 62 *sqq.*) It should also be recalled that thirty to forty years ago Hongkong annually suffered from a mysterious epidemic of Bubonic Plague. What purpose can be served by including stuff such as the above in a School Reader it is difficult to imagine.

It would merely become tiresome to quote from the scores of text-books for all grades, in which Dr. Sun's dissertations upon economic and ethnic oppression, etc., are paraphrased or quoted textually.

Lavish use is made of illustrations to foment anti-foreign feeling. Examples include pictures of A European (English) Policeman in Shanghai (?) beating a Chinese ricscha coolie (in an elementary textbook on Sociology).

Bloated foreigners "swindling by rubber and mark notes" and seeking \$10,000 profit from \$1 (New Era Text Books).

"Massacre of Chinese by British and Sikh Police" (Primary Sociology text-book).

It would be difficult to exaggerate the gravity of the rearing of a whole generation of Chinese on a mental diet of economic heresies and falsifications of history, coupled with the deliberate inculcation of xenophobia. That, however, is what has been, and is being done, since the rise to power of the Kuomintang. It is incredible that the more responsible members of the National Government, especially those who have received their advanced education

abroad, do not recognize the absurdities and fallacies of the *San Min Chu I*. It would, therefore, be as much as their positions—perhaps their lives—would be worth to expose the evils of relying upon a work of this type for political, social and educational guidance. In practice, of course, the Kuomintang has made most headway by allying itself with the bourgeoisie, and ignoring the more grotesque of Dr. Sun's theories. But every official is still supposed to subscribe unreservedly to the tenets of the Party Bible.

In conclusion another paragraph from Dr. Victor Purcell's work may be quoted :—

“The great disadvantage of the *San Min Chu I* as the foundation of education in China is that it is a textbook as well as a credo. Its errors of fact, its unscientific and uncritical attitude, find their way into the curriculum and make it muddy. Friends of the Chinese must assuredly recommend to them that, even if the *San Min Chu I* is considered an adequate substitute for the Four Books of the Five Canons, it should be rendered by the innumerable experts whose services are available to the National Government, a connected, homogeneous and accurate guide for the generation now at school.”

CHAPTER XXV

CONCLUSION

WHEN the Canonization of a Christian saint is brought before the Roman Congregations, all claims to Sainthood are strictly scrutinized, and to the *Promotor Fidei* (popularly known as the *Advocatus Diaboli*) is assigned the responsibility of producing any evidence calculated to throw doubt upon the authenticity of the miracles etc. supposed to have been wrought through the intercession of the beatified one. It seems a pity that some such procedure is not adopted in connection with the apotheosis of revolutionary leaders. Sun Yat-sen's virtual canonization as new China's Patron Saint was purely fortuitous. Had he died six months earlier or six months later, it is in the highest degree improbable that the "Leninization" conspiracy would have proved successful. There was no such idea when his death was prematurely reported in May, 1924. During the last few weeks of his sanguinary rule in Canton any suggestion of political Canonization would have brought forth angry protests from all over the country. Had he lived a few months longer it is quite certain that there would have been an open breach between Dr. Sun and Marshals Chang Tso-lin and Tuan Chi-jui, neither of whom had the slightest confidence in his judgment. It is one of the most extraordinary paradoxes of his career that his death in Peking,

at that time under the control of militarists whom for years he had unsparingly condemned and who were openly opposed to his People's Conference project, should have resulted in his sudden transformation from a public nuisance to a national hero. The final step in his apotheosis was the State Funeral at Nanking on June 1, 1929. What must have been the thoughts of the Foreign Envoys who, in full diplomatic uniform, had to toil for miles in almost tropical heat to the Tomb on Purple Mountain to pay their tribute to the embalmed remains of one who for the last year or two of his life had flouted and insulted their Governments (that of Moscow excepted) in the name of Chinese Nationalism? Seldom if ever have the Plenipotentiaries of Great Powers had to endure a greater humiliation.

The worship of Dr. Sun has since developed into a national cult. Official Decrees have ordained that in every school, college and university, in every Party and Government Office, in every military unit, ceremonies in his honour are to be held every Monday morning. All those assembled bow three times to the portrait of Sun Yat-sen, whose political testament is then read aloud (see pp. 123). Similar ceremonies form part of nearly every official function—the opening of a new wireless station, or railway, or government office. The semi-religious character of these ceremonies prompted the Apostolic Delegate in China to declare that they were purely civil, and that the conscience of Catholic students who are obliged to perform them must not be disturbed at all. Catholic and Protestant Missionaries for

many years took a far less convenient view of the Shinto Rites connected with Emperor-worship in Japan.

What is the future of Sun Yat-sen-ism and the *San Min Chu I*? This is a question which cannot be answered while the present Sino-Japanese hostilities continue. They are due, in large measure, to Japanese antagonism to the Kuomintang, which despite Dr. Sun's predilections in favour of Sino-Japanese co-operation and Pan-Asianism has become steadily more hostile to Japan's continental aspirations. The elimination of the Kuomintang regime, and the overthrow of its Generalissimo and virtual Dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, are among the avowed objectives of Japanese military operations in China.

Most European Governments, and America, have denounced Japan as the aggressor in the present conflict, and are disposed to put undue credence in China's professions of friendship and goodwill to other nations. It is indisputable, however, that the xenophobia inculcated by the *San Min Chu I* and the system of education based thereon has been an important, if not the decisive, factor in bringing about the present clash. A whole generation of Chinese cannot be reared on this mental diet without untoward consequences. The British were the first victims of Kuomintang animosity. They met it with almost superhuman forbearance. The "victories" gained by Chinese Nationalism at Hankow, Kiukiang and Canton, without any reprisals on the part of the British Government, encouraged Chinese Nationalists to

believe that Japan would yield in the same way to the "rights recovery" movement, ordained in Dr. Sun's political Testament. They should have taken warning from Soviet Russia's prompt reaction to the attempt to take over the Chinese Eastern Railway, by force, in 1929. An immediate invasion of North Manchuria followed, resulting in humiliating and unconditional capitulation. To Japan her rights and interests in Manchuria were of far more vital importance than Russia's were to Moscow. Even the most pacific of her Foreign Ministers repeatedly warned China that no interference with, or encroachment upon, these rights would be tolerated. The warning was ignored, and Japan thereupon embarked upon a continental policy of which none can now, with any certainty, predict the outcome. It would, however, be rash to assume that if the Kuomintang survives the present tragedy, its professions of friendship and goodwill for Britain and America will endure. As long as the *San Min Chu I* remains the text-book as well as the credo of all China, there will be continuous danger of outbreaks of anti-foreign feeling against one or more Powers. Britain had her turn; then came Japan's. Stability in foreign relations cannot be looked for while from end to end of the country the idea that all Foreigners, except Soviet Russians, are "oppressors" is sedulously cultivated. The Five Power Government of Dr. Sun is likely for ever to remain an illusion. The Three Principles, and the manner in which they are exploited for nationalistic purposes, must always, in their present form tend to

embitter Sino-Foreign relations. There is, however, a loophole in the final passage of Dr. Sun's own preface:—"I hope that all our comrades will take the book as a basis or as a stimulus, expand and correct it, supply omissions, improve the arrangement, and make it a perfect text for propaganda purposes." The question is whether the *San Min Chu I* can be revised to make it a reliable and logical work without entire re-writing.

"It is regrettable," wrote Dr. V. Purcell, "that Sun Yat-sen compiled his lectures when he was a sick man and when he was embittered by the intrigues against him and by the action of the Powers in depriving his government of a share of the Customs surplus. . . . The tone of the lectures is unworthy of the revolutionary who for more than thirty years had followed his object relentlessly, who had not been deterred by the ever-present possibility of assassination, and who had proved his disinterestedness beyond doubt by his refusal to make use of unequalled opportunities to acquire a private fortune. The lectures bear everywhere the marks of the failing power of a man suffering from an incurable disease."

That, perhaps, is the most charitable view to take of this political hotchpotch which has been imposed upon the rising generation of China as its gospel, for the past decade or more. But as Lincoln said "You can fool all of the people some of the time, some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time." Sooner or later Chinese intelligence will revolt against the "perilous stuff" in the *San Min Chu*

I, its perpetuation in school textbooks, and its acceptance, even by lipservice, as the guiding principle of Chinese nationalism. And unless the advice in the preface quoted above be followed, Dr. Sun is likely to stand revealed as a political charlatan. Even his alleged services to the Chinese revolution may then be called in question. And he and those who conspired to "Leninize" him may then be held to blame, in no small measure for the present plight of their country. To the foreign student of China's recent history, however, it will always remain a mystery how a man of so mediocre a mentality, such violent prejudices, and such amazing irresponsibility, could ever have become the symbol of a national revival. During the last few years of his stormy career Dr. Sun would appear to have been a case for the psychopath rather than a leader and political prophet to his countrymen. Yet the accident of his death in Peking when he stood thoroughly discredited before the bulk of his countrymen enabled a handful of schemers, under Moscow's influence, to raise him, dead, to a pinnacle that he never—and could never have—occupied while living. Is it possible that he will remain there when the exaltation that followed upon his apotheosis has waned, and a new generation of Chinese dispassionately weighs his claims to perpetual leadership—and finds them wanting?

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